

HARVARD STUDIES  
IN  
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL  
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME XXIII

1912



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## PREFATORY NOTE

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ALBERT ANDREW HOWARD,	} EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.
EDWARD KENNARD RAND,	
CARL NEWELL JACKSON,	





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## SOME FEATURES OF THE ALLEGORICAL DEBATE IN GREEK LITERATURE

BY M. C. WAITES

THE investigation, the results of which are embodied in the following pages, was undertaken in the first instance to provide material for a Latin dissertation written in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of the Classics at Radcliffe College. I expected my dissertation to contain a tolerably complete account of the allegorical debate as it presents itself in the literatures of Greece and Rome. The field of my labors, however, proved so fertile that I was obliged to limit myself to certain phases of the allegorical debate observable in Greek literature before the birth of Christ. The wider task is still far from completion. I have, indeed, scarcely staked the boundaries of my "claim," and yet, if merely for the consecration of my Terminus, I have thought that a brief discussion of material so far collected might not be devoid of interest. In order to present the subject adequately, I shall occasionally repeat conclusions elsewhere summarized.<sup>1</sup>

The tendencies which lead to the production of allegorical debates are, of course, world-wide. Wherever men have been able to comprehend the contrasts of life and present them as abstractions this literary type has arisen. Such tendencies, however, are peculiarly Hellenic. Of all men, the Greek loved best to clothe the inanimate with human vesture and to conceive it as inspired with emotions like his own. Equally characteristic is the desire to analyze, to separate and contrast components. In the very structure of Greek speech, two particles, μέν and δέ, remain as a result of this attitude.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See *Some Aspects of the Ancient Allegorical Debate* in *Studies in English and Comparative Literature* by former and present Students at Radcliffe College (Ginn & Co., 1910), pp. 75 ff. The subject was suggested to me by Professor E. K. Rand, to whose illuminating advice and friendly counsel I am deeply indebted.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kemmer, *Die Polare Ausdrucksweise in der Gr. Literatur* (*Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der gr. Sprache*, Heft 15), Würzburg, 1903.

Everywhere in Greek literature the combination of these two processes evolves types suggestive of the allegorical debate. In order, therefore, to define the genre closely, careful limitation of terms is necessary. By an allegorical debate, I mean a verbal contest in which the participants are either not human or don for the nonce the garb of mortals merely in order to depict in more vivid colors the strife of opposing principles.<sup>1</sup> So one might fairly class as an allegorical debate the so-called *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew*,<sup>2</sup> because, though each contestant is neatly labelled with a name of his own, he is, nevertheless, intended merely to typify his religion. The dialogue, therefore, is an approach to a purely allegorical contest between Church and Synagogue.<sup>3</sup> To the Greek, who saw everywhere the divine fire shining through the commonplace, the boundary between the allegorical and the mythical was vague indeed.

As to the procedure of the typical debate, precise definition is impossible. We may demand at least that each combatant shall defend, with an approach to consistency, some one view, often merely the idea of his own superiority. We shall not find the allegorical debate provided with a background, a stage-setting of its own. Rather, each writer will furnish his own environment, modelling his imaginary altercation on the controversies with which he has become familiar through his personal or literary experience. An Aesopic fable may suggest to him the idea of contrasting two animals or two plants; a rhapsodic contest may provide him with his scenery, or an actual dispute may be removed from

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the interesting dissertation of Dr. J. Holly Hanford, *Origin and Development of the Allegorical Debate in Medieval Literature*, Harvard dissertation (unpublished), 1909, p. 2: "Only a small portion of these poems may fairly be called allegorical. There is, however, a certain allegorical element inherent in the form itself and incidental allegorical features are recurrent. Note first that the characters themselves incline to be allegorical as types and personifications are on the way toward allegory. Furthermore, as these types and personifications contend, they take part in characteristic action and so the poems as a whole approach allegory. . . . In this limited sense, then, the term allegorical may serve."

<sup>2</sup> Διάλογος Χριστιανοῦ καὶ Ἰουδαίου . . . γενόμενος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Κυρίλλου τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. See Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, I, 3, p. 75; A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, IX, pp. xi ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *St. Aug. Op.* (ed. Monach. ordinis S. Benedicti e congregatione S. Mauri, Paris, 1837), vol. V, pt. 1, p. 93 c.

the court-room or the rostrum to add reality to the structure of allegory. For convenience, I shall consider first the debate among the lyric poets, next in rhetoric and philosophy, thirdly in the drama. I shall then discuss briefly some developments of the debate during the Alexandrian Age. Lastly, to give an idea of later developments, I shall select two prominent writers of the second-century Renaissance and treat the debates which appear in their works.<sup>1</sup>

# I

## THE ALLEGORICAL DEBATE AMONG THE LYRIC POETS

The tendency to personify may often, without any idea of contest or dispute, produce something resembling an allegorical debate. So, for instance, Sappho in a beautiful fragment (109) sings of a maiden's despairing appeal to her maidenhood :

Παρθενία, παρθενία, ποῖ με λίποις' ἀποιίχη;

And Virginitas answers,

Οὐκετι εἴξω, <οὐκετι εἴξω> πρὸς σ', οὐκετι εἴξω.<sup>2</sup>

As soon as a somewhat polemical dialogue between two such figures is suggested, we have what is practically an allegorical debate. Such a case will be apt to occur in any form of lyric which employs responsive songs. For example, Professor Smyth in his *Melic Poets*, p. cxv, thus describes the Epithalamium : "The chorus consisted either of girls alone, or of girls and youths who danced and sang responsively. . . . In the amoebean song, the maiden friends of the bride laud her beauty, protest

<sup>1</sup> I have found no work of importance which deals exclusively with the allegorical debate in the classics. Helpful suggestions may be found in the following: T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature* (Chicago, 1902, University of Chicago dissert.), pp. 234 ff.; O. Hense, *Die Synkrisis in der antiken Literatur*, Prorektorats-Program (Freiburg, 1893), *passim*; R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog* (Leipzig, 1895), see index under *συγκρίσεις* and *Diatriben*; E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1909), I, pp. 129 ff.; T. Sinko, *Studia Nazianzenica* (Cracow, 1906), pp. 3 ff.; U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, IV (1881), 292 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The poetess Telesilla seems to have compared or contrasted two allegorical figures. The scholiast, on *Odys.* 13, 289, notes, καλῇ τε μεγάλῃ τε: Ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὕψιν κοσμιότητος καὶ αἰδοῦς καὶ τοῦτο ὑπονοεῖν δίδωσι, καθὰ καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Τελέσιλλα ἢ Ἀργεῖα διαγράφουσιν Ἀρετῆς καὶ Καλοκάγαθίας εἰκόνα.

against the cruelty that separates her from her mother, chant the blessedness of the virgin state, heap reproaches on the bridegroom. . . . On the other hand, the band of youths defend and congratulate their fortunate comrade, deprecate the condition of the 'unprofitable virgin,' etc.

Catullus 62, a poem modelled closely on Greek precedent, provides an example. The youths and maidens here are not individuals; they are meant merely to represent the opposition of the sexes. Contrast lines like 20 ff., the song of the maids,

"Hespere, qui caelo fertur crudelior ignis?  
Qui natam possis complexu avellere matris,  
Complexu matris retinentem avellere natam  
Et iuveni ardenti castam donare puellam.  
Quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe?" —

with the chant of the young men (26 ff.):

"Hespere, qui caelo lucet iucundior ignis?  
Qui desponsa tua firmes conubia flamma,  
Quae pepigere viri, pepigerunt ante parentes,  
Nec iunxere prius quam se tuus extulit ardor.  
Quid datur a divis felici optatius hora?"

Somewhat similiar is the situation in Alcman's famous Partheneion. (frg. 23, Bergk.). Here (from vv. 39–59) are sung the praises first of the beautiful Agido, then of the scarcely less fair Hagesichora. The verses are much discussed. Whether, however, we conceive them as recited by the poet<sup>1</sup>, by a girl-soloist<sup>2</sup>, or by two members of the virgin-chorus<sup>3</sup> is of little intrinsic importance, though the last supposition would perhaps make the debate most clear. The poem turns first to Agido (v. 39, ἐγὼν δ' αἰδῶ Ἀγιδῶς τὸ φῶς), but almost immediately a reference to Hagesichora intrudes (ἐμὲ δ' οὐτ' ἐπαινῆν οὐτε μωμήσθαι νιν ἂ κλεννὰ χοραγὸς Οὐδ' ἁμῶς ἐῆ) and in vv. 51 ff. her beauty receives a guerdon of lovely lines, although forthwith the superiority of her rival is recognized. (ἂ δὲ δευτέρα πεδ' Ἀγιδῶν τὸ φῆδος . . . δραμεῖται.)

<sup>1</sup> Bergk. *P. L. G.* III, p. 832; cf. Jurenka, *Vienna Academy, Sitzungsberichte*, CXXXV. (1896), 14.

<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXXII (1897), p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Blass, *Hermes*, XIII (1878), p. 30.



The verses by no means constitute a regular allegorical debate. Still, the antiphonal praise of the two maidens with the incessant contrast between them causes an approach to the conventional form. So Plutarch in the *Life of Lyscurgus* (c. 21) explains that at the Lacedaemonian festivals there were three choruses corresponding to three ages of man.

The old men began,

‘Αμὲς ποκ’ ἡμεες ἄλκιμοι νεανίαί.

To which the youths replied,

‘Αμὲς δέ γ’ ἡμέες· αἱ δὲ λῆς, αὐγάσδεο.

Finally the boys’ chorus sang,

‘Αμὲς δέ γ’ ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῶ κάρρονες.

Of all the lyrists, Pindar was most richly dowered with the ability to see, as it were, both sides of the shield, to listen alternately to opposing voices, cf. *Isth.* 7 [6].

The poet begins in joyful mood (1-15):

Τίνι τῶν πάρος, ὃ μάκαιρά Θήβα,  
καλῶν ἐπιχωρίων μάλιστα θυμὸν τεὸν  
εὖφρανας; ἦ ῥα χαλκοκρότου πάρεδρον  
Δαμάτερος ἀνίκ’ εὐρυχαίταν  
ἄντειλας Διόνυσον . . .  
· · · · ·  
· · · · ·  
ἦ ἀμφὶ πικναῖς Τειρεσίαο βουλαῖς; κ.τ.λ.

The sadder voice interposes,

ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γὰρ  
εὖδαι χάρις, ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί,  
ὅτι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον  
κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν ἐξίκεται ζυγόν.

But there is a sure remedy,

κώμαζ’ ἔπειτεν ἀδυμελεῖ σὺν ὕμνῳ  
καὶ Στρεψιάδα· φέρει γὰρ Ἴσθμοῖ  
νίκαν παγκρατίου . . .

Again the graver note intrudes (31-48),

τὸν δέ, Διοδότοιο παῖ, . . .  
 . . .  
 εὐανθέ' ἀπέπνευσας ἀλικίαν  
 προμάχων ἀν' ὄμιλον . . .  
 . . .  
 ἔτλαν δὲ πένθος οὐ φατόν.

Again the sharp contrast,

ἀλλὰ νῦν μοι  
 Γαῖόχοτος εὐδίαν ὅπασσεν  
 ἐκ χειμῶνος. αἰέσομαι χαίταν οτεφάνοισιν ἀρμόζ-  
 ων.

Religion adds its caution,

ὁ δ' ἀθανάτων μὴ θρασσέτω φθόνος.  
 ὃ τι τερπνὸν ἐφάμερον διώκων  
 ἔκαλος ἔπειμι γῆρας ἔς τε τὸν μόρσιμον  
 αἰῶνα. θνάσκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες . . .  
 . . . τὸ δὲ παρ' δίκαν  
 γλυκὺν πικροτάτα μένει τελευτά.

The poem closes, as it began, in joy.<sup>1</sup>

If we are to trust Professor Gildersleeve,<sup>2</sup> part of the second Pythian (72 ff.) nearly approaches an allegorical debate. This scholar, as he reads, hearkens first to a Δίκαιος, then to an Ἄδικος Λόγος. Pindar differs from Aristophanes and Righteousness ultimately triumphs. Such an analysis of the passage is interesting and ingenious, even if not convincing. For the most part, however, the opposition of ideas is not clearly enough expressed for a debate.

I have elsewhere discussed<sup>3</sup> the most perfect example of the debate in the lyric poets. It occurs in a mutilated poem by Corinna, published by Wilamowitz, *Griechische Dichter-Fragmente*, II (1907), p. 26. From the sorry remnants, we can discern a contest, probably in song, held between Helicon and Cithaeron in the presence of the gods.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Pyth.* 4, 288 ff.; *Pyth.* I, 1-31; 81 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (1890), p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Some Aspects of the Ancient Allegorical Debate*, pp. 92 f.

When we are permitted to view the struggle, Cithaeron is apparently singing of the birth of Zeus;

16. . [τ]ανίκα νιν κλέψε μά[κη]ρα 'Ρεία,  
[με]γάλαν τ' [ἀ]θανάτων [ἔ]ς  
[ἔ]λε τιμάν.

At the conclusion of the song, the gods cast their votes and Hermes as herald proclaims Cithaeron victor.

The agon has a tragic postlude, for Helicon in wrath snatches a huge boulder and hurls it upon 'countless multitudes,' doubtless the members of an attentive mortal audience.

Probably Cithaeron's song was preceded by some proof of Helicon's prowess, musical or otherwise. The contest of the two mountains will then follow a formula so general as to be practically a convention of the allegorical debate. In the majority of cases, the contestant destined to defeat begins the dispute.

How far the mountains are to be regarded as allegorical figures is difficult to determine. Perhaps, as Corinna embellished her poem, Helicon and Cithaeron were in her mind mere personifications quite different, for example, from the Zeus that dwelt on Olympus; though, as a matter of fact, precisely parallel to that divinity. On the other hand, her description would certainly imply that the combatants were to her hoary giants, sincerely regarded as actual patron deities of their respective peaks<sup>1</sup>. The element of debate is diminished by the fact that the performance is obviously modelled on a rhapsodic contest, so that the contestants are opposed merely in their recitations, not in fundamental character.

## II

### THE DEBATE IN RHETORIC AND PHILOSOPHY

Certain special influences were early at work to turn the thoughts and mode of expression of philosophers instinctively toward the allegorical debate. One of the most important was the custom of allegorical interpretation, applied to refine and explain sundry revolting passages of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *l. c.*, pp. 48 f. One may compare the contest between Pan and Apollo in Ovid, *Met.* 11, 153 ff., where Tmolus acts as judge and seats himself *monte suo*.

Greek Mythology. Theagenes of Rhegium, to whom is attributed the invention of this compromise between savagery and civilization, was inclined, according to Porphyry, to interpret the Homeric contests where deity encounters deity as allegorically symbolizing the strife of natural forces. Sometimes, too, the names of the gods were said to typify allegorically opposing abstractions, like Wisdom and Folly.<sup>1</sup>

Certain of the placita of the philosophers have also a bearing on our problem. So Empedocles, frg. 20 (Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*), thus describes the eternal conflict between Love and Hate :

ἄλλοτε μὲν Φιλότητι συνέρχομεν εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα . . .  
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε κακῇσι διατμηθέντ' Ἐρίδεσσι  
πλάζεται ἀνδιχ' ἕκαστα περὶ ρρηγμῖνι βίοιο.

Protagoras is especially significant, for he, according to Diogenes Laertius, 9, 51, πρῶτος ἔφη δύο λόγους εἶναι περὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀντικειμένους ἀλλήλοις.<sup>2</sup> Hirzel,<sup>3</sup> indeed, sees in the *Antilogiai* of Protagoras the influence which shaped not only the debate of the two λόγοι in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes but, albeit to an opposite issue, the *Republic* of Plato. Carneades, too, we are informed,<sup>4</sup> amused the Roman litterati during his embassy by arguing one day in praise of

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Venet. ad Y 67: τοῦ ἀσυνφόρου μὲν ὁ περὶ θεῶν ἔχεται καθόλου λόγος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀπρεποῦς· οὐ γὰρ πρέποντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν μύθους φησὶν. πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπίλυσιν οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως κατηγοροῦντες, ἀλληγορίᾳ πάντα εἰρῆσθαι νομίζοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν στοιχείων φύσεως, οἷον ταῖς ἐναντιώσεσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ γὰρ φασι τὸ ξηρὸν τῷ ὑγρῷ . . . μάχεσθαι καὶ τὸ κοῦφον τῷ βαρεῖ . . . μάχας δὲ διατίθεσθαι [αὐτόν] διονομάζοντα τὸ μὲν πῦρ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἥλιον καὶ Ἡφαιστον, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα καὶ Σκάμανδρον . . . ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ ταῖς διαθέσεσιν ὀνόματα θεῶν τιθέναι, τῇ μὲν φρονήσει τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, τῇ δ' ἀφροσύνῃ τὸν Ἄρεα . . . οὗτος μὲν οὖν <ὁ> τρόπος ἀπολογίας ἀρχαῖος ὦν πάνυ καὶ ἀπὸ Θεαγένους τοῦ Ῥηγίνου, ὃς πρῶτος ἔγραψε περὶ Ὀμήρου, τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως.

Cf. also on Cleanthes's interpretation of the Labors of Heracles, Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen* (1880), III, I, 334 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 12, 46: "Itaque ait Aristoteles . . . scriptas. fuisse et paratas a Protagora rerum illustrium disputationes, quae nunc communes appellantur loci; quod idem fecisse Gorgiam, cum singularum rerum laudes vituperationesque conscripsisset."

<sup>3</sup> *Der Dialog*, I, 56<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *R. P.* 3, 6, "is cum legatus ab Atheniensibus Romam missus esset disputavit de iustitia copiose. . . . Sed idem disputationem suam postridie contraria disputatione subvertit et iustitiam, quam pridie laudaverat, sustulit."



Justice and the next, with even greater enthusiasm, in defence of Injustice.

A very typical and important allegorical debate was evolved by Prodicus and recounted by Xenophon (*Memorab.* 2, 1, 21) in the well-known story of Heracles at the Cross-roads. In fact, no better method of illustrating the growth and development of such contests could be found than a careful examination of the sources and imitators of Prodicus.

The debate is in structure fairly elaborate. The young Heracles is represented as having reached the boundary between boyhood and youth, hesitating at the cross-roads before deciding whether to pursue the path which leads to Virtue or that whose end is Vice. His uncertainty presents itself in tangible form,<sup>1</sup> for two fair figures approach him as he sits in solitude. The contrasting descriptions are worth quoting: 'And it seemed to him that two women of great stature came toward him, one comely to see and noble, her body adorned with purity, her eyes with modesty, her form with wise restraint, a woman clothed in white robes; the other inclined to plumpness and delicacy of body, her complexion embellished so as to seem both rosier and fairer than it really was, her eyes boldly open, her clothing arranged in a manner best fitted to reveal her fair form.' The lady does not belie her appearance. Hastening to pass her modest companion, she rushes up to Heracles and proceeds to unfold to him the manifold advantages of life's journey in her company. (ἐὰν οὖν ἐμὲ φίλην ποιησάμενος, [ἐπὶ] τὴν ἡδίστην τε καὶ ῥάστην ὁδὸν ἄξω σε, καὶ τῶν μὲν τερπνῶν οὐδενὸς ἄγευστος ἔσει, τῶν δὲ χαλεπῶν ἄπειρος διαβιώσῃ, κ.τ.λ.) In response to a question, she introduces herself as Happiness (Εὐδαιμονία), admitting, however, that her traducers call her Vice (Κακία). At this point, her comrade, Virtue, intervenes. She makes no specious promises (τῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν οὐδὲν ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας θεοὶ διδόασιν ἀνθρώποις); in fact, one feels some sympathy with the contemptuous Κακία, who remarks that the paths of her opponent are anything but ways of pleasantness. This produces an indignant tirade from Virtue, who

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<sup>1</sup> There is in reality a double allegory here. The possible choices are symbolized, first by the two paths, then by the two women. I should suggest that the latter conception may well be due to Prodicus himself. He could thus best emphasize the moral element in his apologue.

vituperates her adversary and praises herself with equal generosity. The result of the contest may be determined not from Xenophon, but from the Scholium to *Clouds*, 361 :

φέρεται δὲ καὶ Προδίκου βιβλίον ἐπιγραφόμενον \*Ωραι, ἐν ᾧ πεποίηκε τὸν Ἡρακλέα τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ κακίᾳ συντυγχάνοντα, καὶ καλούσης ἑκάτερας ἐπὶ τὰ ἥθη αὐτῆς, προσκλίνει τῇ ἀρετῇ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνης ἰδρῶτας προκρίνει τῶν προσκαίρων τῆς κακίας ἡδονῶν.

We have, then, a youth at the turning-point in his life, a crisis allegorically indicated by cross-roads. The possible ways his life may take are further indicated by two contrasting female figures between which, after some argument, he makes his choice. Now in the first place, we have already seen enough of the ease with which the Greek clothed abstractions in concrete form to make us certain that later writers would not necessarily be obliged to turn, for two opposing allegorical figures, to the apologue of Prodicus. Such figures will need to prove their title by very considerable resemblance to the forms of Ἀρετή and Κακία before we shall be sure that they are not independent creations. If, however, we find in an allegorical debate the figure of the cross-roads used again, or a young man settling his career forever by a choice between two allegorical figures, and especially if these two features are combined, we may suspect the influence of Prodicus.

We may note, in passing, that in all probability Xenophon has stripped the debate of much of its original adornment. For Socrates in the *Memorabilia* thus summarizes his version of the allegory :

οὕτω πως διώκει Προδίκος τὴν ὑπ' Ἀρετῆς Ἡρακλέους παίδευσιν· ἐκόσμησε μέντοι τὰς γνώμας ἔτι μεγαλειότεροις ῥήμασιν ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν.

The figure of the two roads did not originate with Prodicus. It occurs first in Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 287-292), a passage quoted by Xenophon himself just before his summary of Prodicus :

Τὴν μὲν γὰρ κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι  
ῥηιδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει.  
τῆς ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν  
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν  
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,  
ῥηιδίῃ δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ εὐδуса.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the Ways of Truth and Error in Parmenides's poem, 33 ff.

A well-known symbol of the Pythagorean philosophy was the letter Y, the left fork of which represented the road to Vice, the right fork the road to Virtue.<sup>1</sup> This conception may well have influenced Prodicus.<sup>2</sup>

Heracleitus is said to have remarked<sup>3</sup>: συντομωτάτην ὁδὸν εἰς εὐδοξίαν τὸ γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν, and the Cynics considered their philosophy as this "short cut."<sup>4</sup> Letter 30 attributed to Diogenes explains how Antisthenes made use of the figure of the Ways in a manner possibly suggested by Prodicus's fable. The supposed Diogenes there relates that Antisthenes, to illustrate a point in his lectures, led his pupils through the city to the Acropolis and compared the two paths which gave access to the summit, one short and rugged, the other long and level, to the roads which conduct mankind to Happiness.

Remembering the scholium quoted on p. 3, Welcker<sup>5</sup> suggests Telesilla as another possible source for Prodicus.

The comment of Athenaeus (510c) suggests a connection between our apologue and the Judgment of Paris:

ἐγὼ δὲ φημι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πάριδος κρίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιοτέρων πεποιῆσθαι ἡδονῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὖσαν σύγκρισιν· προκριθείσης γοῦν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἡδονή, πάντα συνεταράχθη. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν Ξενοφῶν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν μῦθον ἐντεῦθεν πεπλακέναι. Cf. *ibid.* 15, 687c.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lact. 6, 3, 6; Pers. 3, 56; Stob. *Eclog.* II, 9, 6 (Wachsmuth); Ausonius, 166, 124 (ed. Peiper); *F. P. G.* (ed. Mullach), I, p. 511; Isidore, *Orig.* I, 3, 7. The figure of the two roads and its significance for the early Christians, as well as its connection with the Pythagorean letter, is fully discussed by C. Pascal, *Il Bivio della Vita*, in *Miscellanea Ceriani* (Milan, 1910), pp. 57 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ps.-Theognis, 911 ff.:

ἐν τρίοδῳ (Υ) δ' ἔστηκα· δὴ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ὁδοὶ μοι·  
φροντίζω τούτων ἥντιν' ἔω προτέρην·  
ἢ μὴδὲν δαπανῶν τρύχω βίον ἐν κακότητι,  
ἢ ζῶω τερπνῶς ἔργα τελῶν ὀλίγα.

<sup>3</sup> *Gnom. Vat.* (ed. Sternbach), n. 315 (*Wiener Studien*, 10 (1888), p. 250).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Epist. Gr.* (ed. Hercher), 12, p. 238; 37, p. 252.

<sup>5</sup> *Kleine Schriften*, II, 469<sup>205</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The Etruscan mirrors are cited by Schultz (*Herakles am Scheidewege, Philologus*, 68 (1910), p. 490 and n. 5), in his attempt to establish a version older than Prodicus, yet independent of the Judgment of Paris, in which Arete is replaced by the figure of Minerva. He refers especially to Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, 155 (i. e., 151?) and 156. These mirrors, however, present as a class such a curious (perhaps Orphic?)



Historically, there may be a connection between a myth like the Judgment of Paris and the fable of Prodicus. But in thought, the difference in the number of the allegorical figures,<sup>1</sup> the exactly opposite issue, and above all the marked moral and didactic purpose of Prodicus show the slightness of the kinship. Far nearer in spirit is the myth of Hippolytus.

Hense<sup>2</sup> has a few pages of excellent comment upon the significance of this debate. It exemplifies the law of precedence by which the party to be defeated regularly begins the argument. This debate is a little peculiar in that the figure of Virtue is introduced first. Later, however (§ 23), the ill-bred haste of Vice urges her to open the conversation. The words of Virtue offer a slight suggestion of a train of attendants by whom, in the original version, Vice may have been accompanied. (Cf. § 31: *ἡ τίς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν τοῦ σοῦ θιάσου τολμήσειεν εἶναι;*) Such a troop of subordinates is a common feature of the allegorical debate. So, too, is the carefully elaborated and often artificial contrast between the adversaries. The didactic note of this contention is also, as we shall see, highly characteristic. Often doubtless the setting of the Prodician fable provided a suggestion when later writers wished to introduce allegorical figures as simply and naturally as possible. Frequently, however, the strife begins without preface or apology.

The figure of Heracles had much to do with the speedy popularization of the tale. We shall see how influential and philosophical a personage the son of Alcmena became.

I now turn to the long list of Prodicus's imitators and reproducers, a list which I think it worth while to record, partly because it shows the wide influence exercised by this one debate and partly because I have not found all the passages collected elsewhere.

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conception of Hercules's relation to Minerva that one cannot safely determine the proper interpretation of the scenes in which Hercules appears with her and other figures. In 161, e. g., Hercules is carrying Minerva. A male and a female figure face him (Venus and Mars?) and behind him is another person with a Phrygian cap and a staff (Paris?). This, as well as 155, seems best interpreted as a symbolic representation of the marriage of Hercules and Minerva.

<sup>1</sup> This may not be essential. See below, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Synkrisis*, pp. 14 ff.



Cicero, *de Offic.* 1, 32, 118 gives a translation of part of Xenophon's account. It is possible that Panaetius upon whose famous work *περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος* the *de Officiis* is based, may also have quoted the apologue.

Id. *de Fin.* 2, 14, 44: "Ita ceterorum sententiis semotis relinquitur non mihi cum Torquato, sed virtuti cum voluptate<sup>1</sup> certatio: quam quidem certationem homo et acutus et diligens Chrysippus non contemnit totumque discrimen summi boni in earum comparatione positum putat." We infer from this passage that Chrysippus also was influenced by Prodicus's example, perhaps in the work *περὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἡδονῆς* where, as Aulus Gellius records (14, 4), he drew a graphic picture of Justice.

*De Fin.* 2, 21, 69: "'Pudebit te,' inquam, 'illius tabulae quam Cleanthes sane commode verbis depingere solebat. Iubebat eos qui audiebant secum ipsos cogitare pictam in tabula Voluptatem, pulcherrimo vestitu et ornatu regali in solio sedentem: praesto esse Virtutes ut ancillulas. . .'"

It is hardly likely that Cleanthes in this description felt the influence of Prodicus.<sup>2</sup>

The interesting debate in Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 1 has the following points of resemblance to Prodicus: (1) the solitary meditation of the person to whom the allegorical characters present themselves; (2) the crucial choice,—in this case between two modes of poetry, Tragedy and Elegy. Tragedy and Elegy are each represented by one speech, and this lack of extended argument is characteristic of those classical debates which were produced under the influence of Rhetoric and Philosophy. The apologue of Prodicus is peculiar in the fact that, though the claims of Virtue are plainly in the sophist's mind far more important than those of Vice, he nevertheless allows *Κακία* to interrupt her rival and take the stage again for a brief space.

Among the figures in the *Tabula* of 'Cebes,' we find the contrast between *Παιδεία* and *Ψευδοπαιδεία* emphasized in a way reminiscent of Prodicus. An old man interprets to a passing stranger an allegorical painting hanging in the forecourt of the temple of Cronus. Certain

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the version in Philo.

<sup>2</sup> St. Augustine enlarges on the idea in *De Civ. Dei*, 5, 20; cf. Seneca, *De Vit. Beat.* 11. Cleanthes doubtless painted his word-picture "in iis libris quos scripsit contra voluptatem" (*Nat. Deor.* 1, 14, 37).

spendthrifts are there represented, who having squandered all the gifts of Fortune, wander in abject misery till they fall into the power of Μετάνοια. She relieves them from their misfortunes and introduces to them certain Opinions, one of which will prove a guide to Ἀληθινὴ Παιδεία, the other to Ψευδοπαιδεία. The steep path of True Learning leads finally to two fair women typifying Self-Control and Endurance, who present the pilgrims with reliable comrades through whose aid they finally attain the goal. The debate is petrified, but the influence of Prodicus is apparent. One significant change is the interposition of the guides and interpreters.

Philo Iudaeus<sup>1</sup> begins in these words a long contention between Pleasure and Virtue :

‘With every man of us dwell two women, hostile and unfriendly the one to the other. . . . One of these we are fond of, regarding her as easy to deal with and to manage, and a good friend and intimate. Her name is Pleasure. The other we hate, thinking her our worst enemy. Her name is Virtue.’

The appearance of Pleasure is described entirely after the manner of Prodicus. (Ἡ μὲν οὖν προσέρχεται πόρνης καὶ χαμαιτύπης τὸν τρόπον τεθρυμμένη, κεκλασμένῳ τῷ βαδίσματι . . . θάρσος μετὰ ἀναισχυντίας ἐμβλέπουσα . . . περιέρῳ ποικιλίᾳ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀναπεπλεγμένη. . . .)

An appalling train of familiars attends her, of whom Impiety, Injustice, and Deceit may be mentioned as representative. With flattering words, Pleasure strives to allure the mind, promising gratification of every sensual lust and desire. Virtue, in fear that her companion's beguilements may produce their effect, interferes with a statement of her own claims. Philo exhausts himself in praising her purity and modesty and enumerates her train of more than thirty — satellites such as Piety, Truth, and Temperance. Virtue herself follows the conventional rôle, vituperating her rival and lavishly lauding her own charms. At the conclusion of her argument, the mind obediently rejects Pleasure and ensues Virtue.

The length of Philo's debate is due to his tiresome and characteristic prolixity. The long train of attendants has been evolved from the simple θίασος of Vice in Xenophon's account.

<sup>1</sup> *de Sacr. Abelis et Caini*, 20 ff. (Cohn & Wendland, I, p. 209).

Philo's very diction is indeed so reminiscent of the version in the *Memorabilia* that this was certainly one of his sources. But, as Wendland has demonstrated,<sup>1</sup> there are other influences at work. Νοῦς takes the place of Heracles and Ἡδονή of Κακία. This last change points in the direction of the Stoico-Epicurean contest and suggests that Philo had access to some Stoic source, possibly Chrysippus.<sup>2</sup> As Wendland further remarks, the speech of Virtue is practically an encomium of πόνος,<sup>3</sup> which seems to show a Cynic influence. But, on the other hand, Prodicus, according to the version of Xenophon, foreshadows it. Cf. § 28: τῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν οὐδὲν ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας θεοὶ διδόασιν ἀνθρώποις. Perhaps also Philo had before him the *Tabula* of Cebes.<sup>4</sup>

In the fifteenth book of *Punica* (18 ff.), Silius Italicus depicts the young Scipio sitting, like the young Heracles, in solitude. To him appear Virtus and Voluptas of whom Voluptas introduces herself first. She is the legitimate descendant of Prodicus's fancy:

"Altera Achaemenium spirabat vertice odorem,  
ambrosias diffusa comas et veste refulgens. . . ."

Virtue is interestingly different from her predecessors:

"Alternis dispar habitus: frons hirta nec umquam  
composita mutata coma; stans vultus, et ore  
incessuque viro propior."

The Cynic note is plainly to be heard here.

Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* I, 65 ff., 13 M.) introduces Hermes as "guide, philosopher and friend" to lead the young Alcides over a path inaccessible to mortal feet and reveal to him a mountain so lofty that its two peaks, Kingly Power and Tyranny, appear from the foot one summit.

<sup>1</sup> *Neuentdeckte Fragmente Philos*, Berlin, 1891, pp. 140 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hense, *Die Synkrisis*, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the words of Virtue, 41 (Cohn & Wendland, I, p. 218): δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι πόνος τὴν αὐτὴν προσφέρεισθαι δύναμιν τροφῇ· καθάπερ γοῦν αὕτη τὸ ζῆν ἐξήρτηκεν ἑαυτῆς συναρτήσασα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἅπαντα ἔργα τε καὶ πάθη, οὕτως καὶ πόνος ἐκκεκρέμακεν ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ἀγαθὰ.

<sup>4</sup> So Praechter, *Cebetis Tabula quamquam aetate conscripta esse videatur*, 1885, p. 96, and van Wageningen, *Ceb. Tab.*, 1903, p. xii.

As we anticipate, two widely dissimilar paths give access to the peaks. Here, however, we notice an interesting, though natural, variant. For the Way of Kingly Power is broad and safe, that of Tyranny a narrow and tortuous defile. Upon the peaks sit their mistresses, Basileia and Tyrannis. The former is modelled somewhat closely upon the Ἀρετή of Prodicus, though the whole account is naturally motivated to fit the scheme of the oration. She is attended by Δίκη, Εὐνομία, Εἰρήνη, Νόμος.

Tyranny's throne is far loftier and finer, her garments are many-colored and in her manner she endeavors to imitate her rival. But she cannot sit peacefully on her unsteady seat and all her splendors are meretricious. Her servants are Ὠμότης, Ὑβρις, Ἀνομία, Στάσις, Κολακεία. Heracles, upon examination, spurns Tyrannis and all her ways, and vehemently expresses his admiration for Basileia.

Unique as this version of our apologue appears, we need not assume an intermediate source between Dio and Xenophon. What Dio could do in the way of personification may be seen from *Or.* IV, 83 ff. (72 M), where Diogenes, in reply to a question from Alexander, represents as *daimones* the sorts of lives to which men principally incline.<sup>1</sup> Probably, however, the influence of Cleanthes and Cebes may be traced in the tendency to turn from the debate-form to pure description.<sup>2</sup>

Essentially the scheme of the Choice of Heracles is reproduced in Lucian's *Dream* (c. 6 ff.). A young man and his career are the objects of contention between Statuary and Culture, each of whom makes one long speech. Statuary dooms herself to defeat by beginning. As elsewhere<sup>3</sup> Lucian paints a picture professedly modelled on Cebes, we may assume the influence of the *Tabula* in the figure of Παιδεία here. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* 2, c. 11) gives an abbreviation of Prodicus's fable, mentioning Xenophon as the source. Touches of the Cynic description of Virtue are evident. Interesting is the emphasis laid on the difference in the attire of the two contestants.

<sup>1</sup> The idea may, of course, have been due to Diogenes. Cf. Weber, *Leipziger Studien für Classische Philologie*, X (1887), p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> The introduction of the mountains was perhaps suggested by Simonides (fr. 58. Bergk.). It occurs also in Cebes. (See Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 250.)

<sup>3</sup> *De Merc. Cond.* 42; *Rhet. Praec.* 6 ff.



Maximus of Tyre (*Dissert.* 20, init.) and Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 2, 10, § 110, p. 236(P) ; *Strom.* 5, p. 664(P)) made direct use of the apologue of Prodicus. The change of *Κακία* to *Ἡδονή* in the former indicates Stoic influence and possibly Clement had Philo in mind.

In Philostratus (*Vit. Apollon.* 6, 10 (239))<sup>1</sup> we have a description derived from Prodicus and also from some Cynic source, as the following account of Virtue proves :

. . . ἡ δ' αὖ πεπονηκυία μὲν προσφερέης, τραχὺ δὲ ὀρώσα, τὸν δὲ αὖχμὸν πεποιημένη κόσμημα καὶ ἀνυπόδητος ἢ ἀρετὴ καὶ λιτὴ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ γυμνὴ δ' ἄν ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μὴ ἐγίγνωσκε τὸ ἐν θηλείαις εὐσχημον.

The words, however, may have been written with no idea of imitation, the better to express the thought of the narrator, Thespesion, who is delivering an encomium on Frugality.

Then comes a striking development. Apollonius in reply to Thespesion, who exhorts him to choose, like Heracles, between the wisdom of the Indians and that of the Egyptians, declares that Philosophy had once revealed herself to him and exhibited to him her various sects in the form of beauteous women who strove to allure him by their promises of pleasure. One alone stood silent, apart from the rest, and her introductory words, when she was finally induced to speak, proved anything but alluring :

‘μειράκιον,’ εἶπεν, ‘ἀηδὴς ἐγὼ καὶ μεστὰ πόνων.’

Here follows a long explanation of the hardships she entails, but also of the unspeakable rewards which await her followers. Apollonius ends by choosing this philosophy, the Pythagorean.

Basil, too, has felt the Cynic touch. He repeats the Prodicus story (*Orat. de legend. libris gent.* 4), but his Virtue, squalid and emaciated, betrays the alien influence.

Themistius (*Or.* 22, 280) briefly reviews the dialogue of Prodicus. Heracles, he continues, after choosing Virtue as his guide, is directed by her to two peaks which seem from a distance to unite into one. They are, however, widely different, for one is the shrine of True Friendship, the other of Hypocrisy. The virgin who sits upon the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vit. Soph.*, p. 482.

height of Friendship is described after the Cynic manner (εὐειδῆς μὲν οὐ, ὥραϊα δέ). Hypocrisy, on the other hand, in striking resemblance to Tyranny, is constantly striving to liken herself to her rival. The influence of Dio is unmistakable.

Finally, Gregory of Nazianzus affords an instructive example of the way in which the idea of contention between the allegorical characters could disappear. In his *Θρήνος περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς παθῶν*<sup>1</sup> he describes (35 ff.) the strife of Soul and Flesh. Then, with line 205, appears the influence of Prodicus:

παῖς μὲν ἔην ἀπαλός, παῖς οὐ μάλα, ἡνίκα δὲ φρήν  
 ἐσθλῶν ἡδὲ κακῶν εἰκόνας ἐγγράφεται,  
 οὐπω μὲν στερεοῖσι νοήμασιν εἶδος ἔχουσα,  
 ἥθεσι δ' ἄλλοτρίοις πρῶτα χαρασσομένη.

As he sleeps, two fair, white-robed maidens, Chastity and Temperance, descend to him from heaven, where they stand in the sight of Christ himself. They have come, they announce, to imbue the soul of Gregory with the love of virginity. Having accomplished their purpose in entire harmony, they depart. Gregory has drawn his material from Prodicus and Lucian, yet his result is absolutely alien to their spirit.

This review has, I hope, shown how easily the Greeks could shift the same material into and out of the debate-form, so that the apologue of Prodicus appears now static, viewed as a painting, now full of life and action, regarded as a dispute of allegorical figures. It has shown, too, how readily the setting of a debate may be modified or the allegory enriched. Finally, we have proved that, in one case at least, the allegorical debate was able to survive for centuries in a form so far unaltered that the hand of the originator may still be detected.

We have carried the history of Heracles at the cross-roads down to the very threshold of the Middle Ages. In order to take the next step, I rely on the *De Eodem et Diverso* of Adelard of Bath (fl. ca. 1130 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> The argument of this treatise is as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Naz. *Op.*, ed. mon. S. Benedicti e congreg. S. Mauri, Paris, 1778-1840, vol. II, *Carmina*, pp. 919 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Willner, *Des Adelard v. Bath Traktat*, Münster, 1903 (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Phil. des Mittelalters*, IV, 1).

As the young Adelard is sitting in peaceful meditation (*ubi me nihil praeter odores florum et Ligeris fluminis fragores inquietant*), two women invade his solitude. The one on the right is Philosophia, of whom even her votaries have slight knowledge. Seven virgins, the seven liberal arts, attend her. On the left, Philocosmia, the darling of the vulgar, is followed by five subordinates, Divitiae, Potentia, Dignitas, Fama, Voluptas, whose attractions she describes to Adelard, promising him rich rewards if he will join her train. Then it is the turn of Philosophia. She makes a long speech warning Adelard to follow Reason alone, and the youth, finally persuaded in her favor, rejects Philocosmia, and himself lengthily defends Philosophia and refutes her rival. As a reward, Philosophia discloses to him the nature and character of the seven liberal arts.

Several sources, such as Martianus Capella, Boethius, and the Proverbs of Solomon, may be mentioned as contributing to Adelard's allegory. But many details — such as the introduction of the youth deciding in solitary meditation his future career; the two chief figures, essentially Virtue and Vice; the forbidding, Cynic aspect of Philosophia; the attendant maidens; the opening speech by the character destined to defeat; the final triumph of Righteousness — point to the influence of the Prodician apologue.

Greek sources are not, I think, to be excluded here. Adelard was an eager student of Plato; he frequently uses Greek terms; he knew Arabic, for he translated Euclid; he was a great traveller who spent some time in Greece and the East. He may at least have known the debate as treated by Cicero, Ovid, and Philo.

Before taking final leave of Prodicus, I wish to emphasize again the tendency of many classical debates, especially those produced under the influence of philosophy, to confine each allegorical character within the limits of one speech. This is largely due to a pervading moral purpose which was likely to involve a curtailment of the dramatic element and an insistence on description, by means of which the lesson could be developed at leisure. That is to say, the limitation was purely artificial. It did not arise from the intrinsic character of the ancient debate itself, as we shall find on turning to contentions shaped by other literary influences.

Democritus apparently personified and contrasted the Body and the Soul so as to produce something resembling an allegorical debate.

Plut. *Fragm. de Libid. et Aegr.* 2: 'This lawsuit of the Body against the Soul, brought on by the sufferings of the former, appears to be of long standing. So Democritus, referring our hard luck to the Soul, says that if the Body obtained leave to bring its suit for the pain and suffering it has endured all through life and he should act as judge of the complaint, he should be glad to condemn the Soul.' Cf. *De Sanit. Praec.* 24, p. 135 E. In the same strain Galen informs us<sup>1</sup> that Democritus represented the senses as inveighing against the mind in these words: *τάλαινα φρήν, παρ' ἡμέων λαβοῦσα τὰς πίστεις ἡμέας καταβάλλεις; πτωμά τοι τὸ κατάβλημα.* Cf. *Sext. Adv. Math.* 7, 136.

Cleanthes<sup>2</sup> invented a conversation between Reason and Passion:

Λογισμός: τί ποτ' ἔστ' ὃ τι βούλει, Θυμέ; τοῦτό μοι φράσον.

Θυμός: Ἐχω, Λογισμέ, πᾶν ὃ βούλομαι ποιῆν.

Λ.: βασιλικόν ἐστι. πλὴν ὅμως εἰπὸν πάλιν.

Θ.: Ὡν ἂν ἐπιθυμῶ, ταῦθ' ὅπως γενήσεται.

There is obviously nothing of the contention here.

Crantor,<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, produced a singularly perfect example of our genre. He conceives an assembly of the Pan-Hellenes into which he introduces various personified Blessings of Life which proceed to contend with each other while the Greeks act as judges.

πρῶτον μὲν . . . ὁ Πλούτος παραπηδήσας ἐρεῖ· ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Πανέλληνες, κόσμον παρέχων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ τὰς ὑποδέσεις καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀπόλαυσιν χρειώδης εἰμὶ νοσοῦσι καὶ ὑγιαίνουσι κ.τ.λ.

The Greeks applaud his words and are on the point of presenting him with the prize when Pleasure intervenes with proof of the instability of Riches. She declares that she alone is worthy of the palm and the assembly agree with her. At this juncture Health approaches, proves her superior claims and is about to depart victorious, when the entrance of Fortitude, surrounded by a crowd of heroes, creates a fresh sensation.

<sup>1</sup> *De Medic. empir. frg.*, ed. H. Schöne (*Berlin Academy, Sitzungsberichte*, 1901, 1259, 8 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> See Galen, *De placitis Hippocr. et Plat.*, lib. 5, 476.

<sup>3</sup> *Sext. Empir. Adv. Math.* 11, 51-59.



She claims and receives the first award, and on the principle that "the last shall be first and the first shall be last," the other prizes are awarded to Health, Pleasure, and Riches, exactly reversing the order of their appearance.

A link between the allegorical debate and the philosophical dialogue is furnished by the *Διατριβή* which Norden defines<sup>1</sup> as Moral Philosophy in the mantle of Rhetoric. The declaimer takes the place of both the contestants in an argument. On the one side, he represents, or is supposed to represent, his own views; for the other he introduces a fictitious opponent, often with the words *φαίη τις ἄν ἴσως* or the like.<sup>2</sup>

Owing to this origin, it is characteristic of the *διατριβή* to be broken up into terse sentences. It is always didactic and its moralizing assumes sometimes the tone of laughing satire, sometimes the stern reproof of the invective sermon. Not infrequently it is so one-sided that the opponent gets small chance to state his views. He tends to grow more and more abstract and consequently personifications and abstract qualities represented in human guise are particularly likely to occur in the diatribe. One may distinguish three stages. In the first, the writer confronts a shadowy adversary, a *τις* or *aliquis*. In the second, a personification is introduced to argue with him. Rarely, the human contestant disappears and two personifications take the field. This final development differs little from the allegorical debate produced under philosophical influence. The diction of a diatribe, however, falls into jerky, unpolished sentences, not long, set speeches. The imaginary conversation thus resembles a stichomachy such as one finds in debates evolved under the influence of the drama and the pastoral. Moreover, the unsubstantial character of the dialogue is always in the mind of the writer of the diatribe. His inanimate characters do not dispute, but, had they possessed the attributes of human life and speech, they *would*, he asserts, have disputed in the manner which he proceeds to demonstrate.

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<sup>1</sup> *Antike Kunstprosa*, I, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Quintil. 9, 2, 36 and 37: "Est et incertae personae ficta oratio: *Hic aliquis* et dicat *aliquis*."

As Norden remarks,<sup>1</sup> the germ of the diatribe may be traced in those Platonic dialogues where Socrates, forsaking the ordinary course of dialectic, introduces an imaginary opponent, using often most elaborate arguments for his refutation. So in the *Republic* (487c) Adimantus represents the case of an adversary who disapproves of the words of Socrates.<sup>2</sup> In *Phaedrus*, 272c, the shadow is introduced by the proverb δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ τοῦ λύκου εἰπεῖν and in the next paragraph Socrates states the wolf's argument. In *Laws*, 885c ff., the challenge of those who do not believe in the gods is stated and answered. In 901c ff., in like manner, the arguments of other offenders are dealt with.<sup>3</sup>

The supposed opponent represents artistically a distinct decline in force. Not often does the Greek of the classical period refuse to allow the bright colors of his fancy to vivify such shadows. It is therefore significant that this stage of the diatribe should be especially frequent in the dialogues falsely ascribed to Plato. A fine example occurs in *Hipp. Mai.*, pp. 286c ff., where Hippias again and again inquires the name of his adversary, and Socrates finally answers, 'You wouldn't know him, even if I should tell you his name.' In the *Minos*, *Hipparchus*, *Περὶ Δικαίου* and *Περὶ Ἀρετῆς*, the opponents of Socrates are designated merely as ἑταῖροι. Even Socrates has vanished in the *Demodocus*, leaving a pair of shadows to carry on the argument. The lovers in the dialogue which bears their name (132d; cf. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, I, pp. 341, 408) defend, one the cause of the Gymnastic Art, the other that of Music. This is practically a contest of two abstractions.<sup>4</sup>

To turn to instances in Plato where a human contestant is confronted by a personification, we find in the *Crito* the dispute of the Laws *vs.* Socrates (50a ff.); in the *Gorgias* the debate of Philosophy and Callicles (482); in the *Protagoras* (361) the contest of the Argument against Protagoras and Socrates. (καί μοι δοκεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ ἄρτι ἕξις τῶν λόγων ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος κατηγορεῖν τε καὶ καταγελάει, καὶ εἰ φωνῇν

<sup>1</sup> *Antike Kunstprosa*, I, pp. 129 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Repub.* bk. IV, init.; 452b ff.; 465e; *Protag.* 352e ff.

<sup>3</sup> Further cases of shadowy opponents are the Eleatic stranger in the *Sophist* and the Athenian in the *Laws*.

<sup>4</sup> An approach to the spirit of the debate may be found in *Repub.* 360e ff. (cf. 476a ff.; *Theaet.* 172 ff.), where Glaucon 'polishes up for decision' the images of the Just and the Unjust.

λάβοι, εἰπεῖν ἂν ὅτι ἀτοποὶ γ' ἐστέ, ὦ Σώκρατες τε καὶ Πρωταγόρα, κ.τ.λ.)<sup>1</sup>

Of the third stage, the contention of two personifications, we have an example in *Phaedr.* 260d ff., where certain Arguments (Δόγοι) array themselves against Rhetoric. Such specimens are apt, as in this case, to develop from diatribes of the second class.

Chief among the writers of διατριβαί was Bion Borysthenites<sup>2</sup> (fl. third century B.C.). The fragment preserved from Teles in Stob. *Flor.* I, 98 (W), shows a diatribe of the second class.

"So," says Bion, "if Things should acquire a voice like ours and be able to plead their own cause, would n't Poverty speak first of all and say, 'Fellow, what quarrel have you with me?' Just as a slave that had taken refuge at a shrine pleads his cause with his master and says, 'What quarrel have you with me? I haven't stolen anything of yours, have I? Don't I perform all the work you lay out for me? . . .' So Poverty would say to her accuser, 'What quarrel have you with me? You haven't been deprived of any fair possession through me, have you? Not of self-control? nor of justice? nor of valor? You aren't in want of any necessities? Aren't the roads full of greens, and the springs of water? Don't I furnish you dwellings, in winter the baths, in summer the shrines? . . .' If Poverty should speak in this strain, what answer could you make? I think I should be speechless."

Weber<sup>3</sup> thinks other personifications were introduced beside Πενία. Their nature, according to him, can be judged from Teles ap. Stob., *Flor.* I, 98, p. 40, 4 ff.: ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς πάντα μᾶλλον αἰτιώμεθα ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν δυστροπίαν καὶ κακοδαιμονίαν, τὸ γῆρας, τὴν πενίαν, τὸν ἀπαντήσαντα, τὴν ἡμέραν, τὴν ὥραν, τὸν τόπον. Cf. p. 43, 3; p. 40, 10 f. From the close correspondence between the words of Bion here and those of Stilpo in Teles περὶ φυγῆς (ap. Stob. *Flor.* XL, 8, ll. 11 ff.), Weber concludes that Bion used Stilpo as a source, modifying him to suit his own brand of new and "flowery" rhetoric.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Phaedo*, 87a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Diog. Laert. 2, 77, and see also 4, 52 (φασὶ λέγειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἐρατοσθένην, ὡς πρῶτος βίων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀνθινὰ ἐνέδυσεν). Bion may have imitated Aristippus who is said (D. L. 2, 84) to have composed six books of diatribes. See further Hense, *Teletis Reliquiae*, Prolegom., Freiburg, 1889, and Heinze, *De Horatio Bionis imitatore*, Diss. Bonn, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> *De Dione Chrys. Cyn. Sect.* in *Leip. Stud. f. Class. Phil.* X, 1887, p. 163 f.



A similar conception gave rise to Diogenes's parody of *Iliad* A, 335, quoted by Teles (διό φησιν ὁ Διογένης φωνῆς ἀκηκοέναι κακίας ἐαυτὴν αἰτιωμένης 'οὗτις ἐμοὶ τῶνδ' ἄλλος ἐπαίτιος, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ αὐτή'), and to the reprimand of *Natura Rerum* in the third book of Lucretius.

It remains to cite, as an excellent instance of a διατριβή, the fragment from Demetrius of Phalerum in Stob. *Flor.* VIII, 20. Here we have really an intervening stage between the second and the third forms of the diatribe. The piece is essentially a debate between opposing qualities, but the human figure is retained, though by a slight change he might become superfluous. The fragment deserves translation :

'For example, suppose Valor and Cowardice should stand beside a warrior already ranged in his place, how much do you think their arguments would differ? Wouldn't Valor bid him stay and keep his place? "But they will hit me!" "Bide!" "But I shall be wounded!" "Bear it!" "But I shall die!" "Die, then, sooner than leave your post!"

'Hard words, straight from the shoulder. But what Cowardice has to say, by heaven, will be kindly and tender. For he, forsooth, bids the coward to withdraw. "But my shield bothers me!" "Throw it away!" "So does my corselet!" "Take it off!"

'Everybody would be sure to think his words gentler than Valor's. And so with other things.

"Don't take anything from an improper source," says Self-Control. "Don't eat, don't drink, bear up, endure! If worst comes to worst, die rather than do what you ought not."

'But Incontinence says: "Drink when you wish. Eat whatever you like best. Does your neighbor's wife please you? Work your will! Are you in want of funds? Borrow. Suppose, when you've borrowed, you can't pay? Then don't! Can't you find a creditor? Steal!"

'A great difference here, too! But who doesn't know that such pleasures lead to the destruction of those who receive them, whereas safety lies in following the opposite path.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laertius (6, 9) testifies to the occasional use of allegorical figures by Antisthenes after the manner of a diatribe. (πρὸς τὸ παρασχηματίζειν αὐτὸ τῶ πλάστῃ μενιάκιον, 'εἰπέ μοι,' φησὶν, 'εἰ φωνὴν λάβοι ὁ χαλκός, ἐπὶ τίνι ἂν οἶε σεμνυθῆναι;') According to Dümmmler, *Antisthenica*, 1882, p. 14, and *Philol.* L (1892), pp. 289 ff., the Ἡρακλῆς ἡ περὶ Φρονήσεως of Antisthenes was an allegorical debate. Cf. Kaibel, *Hermes*, XXV (1890), p. 589, and Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 241 ff.



No discussion of the influence of Rhetoric and Philosophy in the development of the allegorical debate would be complete without a consideration of the curious little work known as *Περὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ τοῦ Γένους καὶ Ἀγώνος αὐτῶν*. As my previous article dealt with this question at some length (pp. 83 ff.), I shall here merely state the conclusions there reached.

The dispute is embedded in the larger work which is referred to the time of Hadrian (*cf.* ll. 29 ff.) and usually cited as *The Florentine Tractate*. The nucleus containing the debate has been proved by Nietzsche<sup>1</sup> to be due to Alcidamas, the rival of Isocrates. The author of the *Tractate* merely combines excerpts from Alcidamas with a conventional life of Homer.

Alcidamas describes the meeting of Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis in Euboea and their contest at the funeral games of King Amphidamas. Hesiod, in the rôle of catechizer, asks Homer "test questions," *τί φέρτατόν ἐστι βροτοῖσιν; τί θνητοῖσιν ἄριστον;* Having successfully passed this ordeal, Homer is subjected to *ἀμφίβολοι γινώμαι*, — incomplete and puzzling sentences which it is his task to complete in a way that shall make sense. The contest ends with recitation, each poet offering what he considers the finest passage from his poems. Despite the plaudits of the multitude, who openly favor Homer, the prize is awarded to Hesiod.

Nietzsche regards the Homer of the *Ἀγών* as an allegorical figure, typifying the ready eloquence of Gorgias and his school (i.e., of Alcidamas himself). Homer, however, is defeated by Hesiod and a reason for this may be found if, like Rohde<sup>2</sup> and Meyer,<sup>3</sup> we see in the work of Alcidamas remains of a far older account, an *Ἀγών* in which Hesiod was the victor. Such a precedent our rhetor was, according to my theory, obliged to follow, though he cleverly made Hesiod's victory worthless by attributing it entirely to the partiality of a biased judge. I endeavored to find a trace of this earliest version in the pseudo-Plutarch's *Banquet of the Seven Sages* (10), where the rôles of the participants are reversed and Hesiod is represented as conquering

<sup>1</sup> *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, XXV, 528 ff., and XXVIII, 211 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Rh. Mus.* XXX, 418, and *cf.* Anhang.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes*, XXVII, 377.

Homer fairly. The figure of Hesiod in the Ἀγών of Alcidas I also determined to be allegorical. Possibly he represents the enemy of Alcidas, Isocrates.

There may, as has been suggested, be an additional personal animus in the Ἀγών. Perhaps Alcidas was smarting from a recent defeat and used this opportunity to show the hollowness of his opponent's triumph.

In conclusion, let me enumerate a few passages from the Attic orators showing a tendency to personify which might, if developed, lead to allegorical debates. They are: Demosthenes, *Olyn.* 1, 2; *De Falsa Leg.* 81, 119; Aeschines, *In Ctes.* 155.

The influence of Rhetoric on the debate cannot be exaggerated. The rhetorical schools did not, it is true, originate the debate, but they preserved and sustained it. The ψόγοι and ἐγκώμια were particularly important in this connection.<sup>1</sup> As Hense remarks, praise has only to become self-praise in order to furnish forth part of a debate. Such tendencies probably began with Protagoras and Gorgias (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 12, 46 f.). Indeed, when one observes how the allegorical debate is engendered, developed, and brought to its decadence in the rhetorical schools and how closely it is connected with all the artificial "fictiones personarum" described by Quintilian, one is apt to forget that its origin was entirely unartificial, due entirely to the ability of the Greek to endow everything with life, speech, and an Hellenic love of argument.

### III

#### THE DEBATE IN THE DRAMA

Few examples of the Allegorical Debate are to be found in Tragedy. The well-known passage (*Persians*, 181 ff.) in which Atossa relates her portentous dream approaches measurably near the type, although the contest there described is not a verbal one.

ἔδοξάτην μοι δύο γυναῖκ' εὐείμονε,  
ἥ μὲν πέπλοισι Περσικοῖς ἡσκημένη,  
ἥ δ' αὖτε Δωρικοῖσιν, εἰς ὅσιν μολεῖν,  
μεγέθει τε τῶν νῦν ἐκπρεπέστατα πολύ,

<sup>1</sup> See *Some Aspects of the Ancient Allegorical Debate*, pp. 81 f.

κάλλει τ' ἀμώμω, καὶ κασιγνήτα γένους  
 ταῦτοῦ· πάτραν ἔναιον ἥ μὲν Ἑλλάδα  
 κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα γαῖαν, ἥ δὲ βάρβαρον.  
 τούτῳ στάσιν τιν', ὥς ἐγὼ δόκουν ὁρᾶν,  
 τεύχειν ἐν ἀλλήλαιοι. . . .

Cf. *Prom.* 1-51; *Agam.* 650 ff.; *Choeph.* 310 f., 461, 497, 726 f.

In *Antigone*, 227 ff., the guard represents his hesitation before venturing to announce the burial of Polynices as a sort of debate between the two parts of his mind:

ψυχὴ γὰρ ἥδ' αὖ πολλὰ μοι μυθουμένη·  
 τάλας, τί χωρεῖς οἱ μολῶν δώσεις δίκην;  
 τλήμων, μενεῖς αὖ; κεῖ τὰδ' εἴσεται Κρέων  
 ἄλλου παρ' ἀνδρός, πῶς σὺ δῆτ' οὐκ ἀलगυνεῖ;

One is reminded of the wrath of Achilles (*Il. A.* 188 ff.) when 'his heart within his shaggy breast was divided in counsel.'

*Frag.* 334 N (Ath. 15, 687c).

Σοφοκλῆς δ' ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν Κρησὶ (Κρίσει, Tyrwhitt) τῷ δράματι τὴν μὲν Ἀφροδίτην ἡδονὴν τινα οὔσαν δαίμονα μύρῳ τε ἀλειφομένην παράγει καὶ κατοπτριζομένην, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν φρόνησιν οὔσαν καὶ νοῦν, ἔτι δ' ἀρετὴν ἐλαίῳ χριομένην καὶ γυμναζομένην.

It is interesting to notice here the same apparent elimination of Hera which we observed in a former quotation from Athenaeus (p. 12). It is quite possible that these two passages preserve an older myth than the conventional Judgment of Paris. On the other hand, the fable of Prodicus may have influenced Sophocles, and Athenaeus may have drawn his conception of the Judgment of Paris solely from the *Κρίσις*.

From Euripides I may cite *Alc.* 28 ff.; *Hippolyt.* 928 ff.; *Orest.* 551 ff.

The two sons of Antiope, Amphion and Zethus, seem in the legend to be representative of the opposing claims of rustic and artistic life.<sup>1</sup> So far as one can judge, Euripides developed this contrast in such a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Apollod. 3, 5, 5: Ζῆθος μὲν οὖν ἐπεμελεῖτο βουφορβίων, Ἀμφίων δὲ κιθαρωδίαν ἥσκει, δόντος αὐτῷ λύραν Ἑρμοῦ.

way that part of his drama formed a debate between these opposing types.<sup>1</sup>

In fragment 188 N we may perhaps discern part of the peroration of Zethus's argument. He gives his brother a word or two of sage advice anent the futility of the artistic life.

ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ·  
παῦσαι μελωδῶν, πολεμίῳ δ' εὐμουσίαν  
ἄσκει· τοιαῦτ' αἶδε καὶ δόξεις φρονεῖν,  
σκάπτων, ἄρῳ γῆν, ποιμνίοις ἐπιστατῶν,  
ἄλλοις τὰ κομψὰ ταῦτ' ἀφείς σοφίσματα,  
ἐξ ὧν κenoῖσιν ἐγκατοικήσεις δόμοις.

In 189,

'In every matter of two arguments  
A contest one might make if shrewd in speech,'<sup>2</sup>

we seem to have the beginning of Amphion's refutation. It would appear, indeed, that he shifted the argument in the course of his defence. Cf. *Auctor ad Her.* 2, 27, 43: "item verendum est, ne de alia re dicatur, cum alia de re controversia sit...uti apud Pacuvium Zethus cum Amphione; quorum controversia de musica inducta est, disputatio in sapientiae rationem et virtutis utilitatem consumitur."

So Cicero, *de Inv.* 1, 50, 94: "ut Amphion apud Euripidem, item apud Pacuvium, qui vituperata musica sapientiam laudat."

Some sort of discussion urging the respective claims of Wealth and Poverty appears to have taken place in the *Danaë*. The speaker of the verses preserved in frgs. 326-328 N praises Wealth; his adversary (329) prefers poor men.

<sup>1</sup> See Graf, *Die Antiopé-Sage*, Halle, 1884, p. 41, and Browning, *Aristophanes' Apology*, 289 ff.: 'The Match of Life Contemplative with Active Life, Zethos against Amphion.'

Cf. Dion. Chrys. *Or.* LXXIII, 10 (635 M): πολὺν γὰρ εἶην τοῦ Ζήθου φαυλότερος τοιαῦτα ἐπιτιμῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐνουθέτει τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὐκ ἀξιῶν φιλοσοφεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ περὶ μουσικὴν διατρίβειν ἐάσαντα τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλειαν· ἔφη δὲ αὐτὸν ἄτοπόν τινα καὶ ἀσύμφορον μούσαν εἰσάγειν· ὥσπερ ἂν τυχόν εἴποι τις καὶ σὲ τοιαύτην προηρῆσθαι πράξιν, οὐκ ἀργὸν οὐδὲ φίλοιον οὐδαμῶς, χρημάτων μέντοι τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀτημελήϊ ἴσως.

<sup>2</sup>

ἐκ παντὸς ἂν τις πράγματος δισσῶν λόγων  
ἀγῶνα θεῖτ' ἂν, εἰ λέγειν εἴη σοφός.



Before beginning a discussion of the Allegorical Debate in Comedy, we should first consider the influence of the 'Αγών in the work of Aristophanes.<sup>1</sup> The 'Αγών, according to Zielinski,<sup>2</sup> is the term applied to that part of a comedy in which the two opposing principles, out of whose warp and woof the plot is woven, face each other in the crucial struggle. The most primitive form of the 'Αγών will appear in the response of one singer to another, as in the Threnos, Hymenaios, and Phallic-Song. Out of such simple lyrics, develops the more complex type to be found in Aristophanes. The two opposing elements which are to meet each other in the 'Αγών have been always carefully defined and expounded during the whole previous course of the drama. Therefore, when they finally attain personification in the 'Αγών, their arguments are apt to be crystallized, consistent, concerned with some one subject. Except in the *Clouds* and the *Plutus*,<sup>3</sup> the cause favored by the poet is victorious. Moreover, in several comic agones judges appear,<sup>4</sup> and always the chorus and the audience may be regarded as interested in the decision. All these qualifications lead in the direction of the typical allegorical debate, and it is therefore not surprising that Aristophanes furnishes several examples of the genre.

In the minor *agon* of the *Knights*, a vituperative stichomachy between the Paphlagonian and the Sausage-seller is interrupted by the chorus at v. 302. Presently a struggle for first place ensues. The impudence of the Sausage-seller gains him the coveted privilege and makes him one of the rare exceptions to the rule that the first speaker is doomed to defeat. The affair ends in a scuffle in which the Paphlagonian is worsted. The principal *agon* (756-940) finds the same two

<sup>1</sup> Possibly we should, as Couat (*Aristophane*, p. 354) suggests, regard the 'Αγών as an idiosyncrasy of Aristophanes, instead of recognizing in it a universal rule of Old Attic Comedy. Sieckmann (*De Comoediae Atticae Primordiis*, Göttingen Diss., 1906, see *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1907, 1379) would extend the 'Αγών to the Dorian Comedy.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Gliederung der alt-attischen Komoedie*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 113.

<sup>4</sup> Dionysus in the *Frogs*, Phidippides in the *Clouds*, Demus in the *Knights*. This third person, as Zielinski explains (p. 116), is present chiefly to represent the spirit of comedy and thus to enliven the somewhat serious problems of the *agon*. His function, therefore, differs somewhat from that of the judge in the ordinary allegorical debate.

characters in dispute before Judge Demus. The Sausage-seller wins by ministering to Demus's immediate needs, thus gaining favor and barring all his adversary's claims. The disguise of Cleon is here very thin. Every spectator would immediately recognize his features in the Paphlagonian. Still, as the character is not ticketed with his real name till the age of the Alexandrian grammarians,<sup>1</sup> he, as well as the Sausage-seller, may be regarded as allegorical.

The *Clouds* presents us with the famous debate between the Just and the Unjust Cause. As in the *Knights*, the contest begins with a noisy quarrel interrupted at v. 934 by the chorus who propose that each Cause shall set forth his claims in regular form. In 961, accordingly, the Just Cause, having gained the doubtful privilege of starting the argument, expounds the educational theories of the good old days, illustrating his remarks by companion word-pictures of the properly trained youth and the spoiled product of a degenerate age. At 1023 he concludes his speech and, after a few lines of hearty commendation by the chorus, the Unjust Cause begins. He contents himself with an attack on the details of his opponent's speech, forcing the latter to admit that all the most profligate citizens live in happiness without fear of punishment. The Just Cause is finally brought to acknowledge defeat.

Hirzel, in a passage to which I have referred (p. 8), would derive both this dispute and certain passages in Plato from the 'Αντιλογίαι of Protagoras. The title of this work possibly suggested the frequent use of the verb ἀντιλέγειν in the *Clouds* (901, 938, 1040).

The *Wasps* (526-724) introduces us to the dispute of Philocleon and Bdelycleon about the blessedness of the Heliast's life. The characters, though typical as their names show, are not sufficiently personifications to render this a good instance of an allegorical debate, though it certainly approaches that category.

In the *agon* of the *Plutus* (487-626) occurs a debate between Chremylus and Poverty who defends her cause so zealously as to prove that Zeus is either poor himself or else a sordid miser. This *agon* is obviously constructed like a diatribe of the second class, i.e., one character only is allegorical.

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<sup>1</sup> Dindorf, introduction to notes on *Equites*.

Other approaches to the debate may be found in Aristophanes. For example, in *Wasps*, 893 ff., we have the mock-trial of the two dogs, ably defended by Xanthias and Bdelycleon. These dogs, according to the scholiast, represent Cleon and Laches. In *Acharnians* too (1097 ff.), the contrast between the peace-party and the war-party is sharply pointed by a stichomachy suggestive of a debate. The chorus (1143-1149) emphasizes the difference between the adversaries, and the play ends with a contrast of the same sort where Lamachus is virtually the spirit of Tragedy, Dicaeopolis of Comedy.

Turning now to the fragments of Aristophanes, one finds in the *Banqueters* a kind of rough sketch of the contest of the *Λόγοι* in the dispute of two brothers,—Modest, brought up under the good, old-fashioned discipline, and Profligate, a product of Sophistic training. Profligate apparently ridicules his brother's simple ways (206, 207 K) and boasts of his own accomplishments (209 K), while in frg. 216, his old father comments on the discouraging results of his son's education.

In the *Horae*, Aristophanes described a verbal conflict judged by Erechtheus between the old gods of Attica and the outlandish deities of later days. Compare, especially, frg. 569 K, where Athene or some other representative of the older fashion contends with an alien goddess as to which has conferred upon Athens the greater benefits. We are indebted to Cicero, *Leg.* 2, 37, for information as to the expulsion of the intruder: "Novos deos et in his colendis nocturnas pervigilationes sic Aristophanes . . . vexat, ut apud eum Sabazius et quidam alii di peregrini iudicati e civitate eiciantur." Naturally we cannot judge how allegorical, according to the poet's conception, these divinities were, how far "Athene" represented merely the good old Athens, her rival the degenerate worship of an evil time. We cannot, then, from the fragments determine how nearly this comedy resembled an allegorical debate.

Aristophanes was by no means the only writer of comedy to introduce such disputes. For instance, in the *Archilochi*, Cratinus, according to one theory,<sup>1</sup> conceived a contest between Archilochus, representing Cratinus himself, and other poets, especially Homer, who may be regarded as the mask for some one of the author's rivals. If this theory

<sup>1</sup> *Glied.* 241 f.



be correct, Cratinus's work formed a prototype for Alcidamas. Little, however, can safely be inferred from the few obscure fragments.

The scholiast on *Knights*, 400, informs us as to the argument of the *Pytine*. It contained the complaints of Comedy, wife of Cratinus, who sues for a divorce and blames her husband for deserting her and yielding to the allurements of Drunkenness. Here, then, we have a contest of two allegorical characters, though no one of the preserved fragments can surely be attributed to Μένη.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the play resembled rather the type of the *Plutus*.

In the *Wild Beasts* (Θηρία) of Crates, Kock and others see (frgs. 14 and 15) a debate between a eulogizer of the simple life and a champion of more luxurious living.<sup>2</sup> In another fragment (17 K) we have the speech of some animal, probably a bull, who remonstrates with a man against the cruel practice of flesh-eating.

In like manner Pherecrates, in the *Savages*, apparently portrayed an altercation between Vegetarians and Anthropophagi (13 K).<sup>3</sup> His *Persians*, according to the conjecture of Ritter,<sup>4</sup> contained a debate between Poverty, or one of her advocates, and an unknown opponent. In the same author's *Chiron*, which dealt with the degeneration of the art of Music, Music herself in the guise of a woman, her body betraying the marks of her disfigurement, appeared to plead her cause before Justice<sup>5</sup> (145 K).

Finally Eupolis (224, 225, 232, 233 K) described the various cities, each personified and bearing its special emblems, as inveighing against the hardships of Athenian supremacy.

Heniochus, also, if the following fragment (5 K) may be trusted, devised a contest between allegorical characters:

γυναῖκε δ' αὐτὰς δύο παράττετόν τινα  
ἀεὶ συνοῦσαι· δημοκρατία θατέρᾳ  
ὄνομ' ἐστί, τῇ δ' ἀριστοκρατία θατέρα  
δι' αὖς πεπαρπηγήκασιν ἥδη πολλάκις.

<sup>1</sup> Hirzel, *Dialog*, II, 302<sup>3</sup>, would regard the contestants as Comedy, the injured wife, and Wine, a fair youth. Cf. Lucian's *Bis Accus*.

<sup>2</sup> The two passages are, however, singularly alike in sentiment. For a different theory, cf. Zielinski, *Märchen-Komödie* (St. Petersburg, 1885), pp. 57 f.

<sup>3</sup> See *Märchen-Kom.*, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *De Aristoph. Pluto*, 75; cf. *Frg.* 130 K.

<sup>5</sup> *Plut. Mor.* 1141.



From the Sicilian comedy I may cite two plays of Epicharmus, *Τὰ καὶ Θάλασσα* and *Λόγος καὶ Λογίνα*, which possibly contained material akin to the Allegorical Debate.<sup>1</sup>

The freedom of the dramatic debate, as compared to the debate in rhetoric or philosophy, is at once apparent. The didactic element has largely disappeared; the interest lies in the humorous opposition of contrasting personalities. These debates are often stichometric, losing entirely, in the quick interchange of gibe with gibe, the pedantry of the scholastic disputation. The debate has come forth from the scholar's closet to the stage; a later development transports it to Arcadia.

#### IV

##### ALEXANDRINE DEBATES

If we accept the dictum of Wachsmuth,<sup>2</sup> the first book of the *Σύλλοι* of Timon of Phlius contained the elements of an allegorical debate. In this book, according to Wachsmuth's reconstruction, Timon told the tale of his descent to Hades and the *λογομαχία* which he there witnessed between the shades of famous philosophers. One at least of the contestants, Zeno, appeared, not in his proper person, but in the guise of an old Phoenician crone, with a wicker basket for the trapping of souls. *Frg.* 8:

καὶ φοίνισσαν ἴδον λιχνόγραυν σκιερῷ ἐνὶ τύφῳ  
πάντων ἱμέρουσαν· ὁ δ' ἔρρει γύργαθος αὐτῆς  
μικρὸς ἔων, νοῦν δ' εἶχεν ἐλάσσονα κινδαιψοῖο.

Another allegorical figure, *βροτολοιγὸς Ἔρις*, urges on the fight (*Frg.* 14) which Pyrrho finally quiets, after it has raged with unexampled fury of argument.

Mnasalcas of Sicyon (Ath. 4, 163) wrote an epigram in which appears the well-worn contrast between Virtue and Pleasure, a petrified debate:

Ἄδ' ἐγὼ ἂ τλάμων Ἀρετὰ παρὰ τῇδε κάθημαι  
Ἡδονῇ, αἰσχίστως κειραμένη πλοκάμους,  
θυμὸν ἄχει μεγάλῳ βεβολημένα, εἴπερ ἅπασιν  
ἂ κακόφρων Τέρψις κρείσσον ἐμοῦ κέκριται.

<sup>1</sup> See *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1907, 1379.

<sup>2</sup> *De Timone Phliasio ceterisque Sillographis Graecis*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 15 ff.

Another epigram, from Meleager. the Cynic, shows us the poet debating with his heart :

βεβλήσθω κύβος· ἄπτε, πορεύσομαι. ἦνίδε, τόλμα.  
οἶνοβαρές, τίν' ἔχεις φροντίδα; κωμάσομαι.  
κωμάσομαι; ποῖ, θυμέ, τρέπη; τί δ' Ἔρωτι λογισμός;  
ἄπτε τάχος. ποῦ δ' ἡ πρόσθε λόγων μελέτη;  
ἐρρίφθω σοφίας ὁ πολὺς πόνος· ἐν μόνον οἶδα  
τοῦθ' ὅτι καὶ Ζηγὸς λῆμα καθείλεν Ἔρωτος.<sup>1</sup>

This same Meleager was the author of a Σύγκρισις λεκίθου καὶ φακῆς (Ath. 4, 157b) which Hense and others<sup>2</sup> would fain recognize as a debate. We have, unfortunately, absolutely no ground for the supposition. Otherwise, it might be tempting to follow Hense and connect with this contest the *certamen* with which Asellius Sabinus amused Tiberius.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the word Σύγκρισις,<sup>4</sup> hovering as it does between a peaceful *comparison* and a sanguinary *contest*, is often ambiguous. Similarly, the verb συγκρίνειν may mean either *to compare* or *to contrast* and so *oppose*. For example, Timaeus, as we are told by Polybius (12, 28, 8 f.), when Ephorus could not answer the arguments of men who contended that more capacity, hard work, and preparation were needed for rhetorical than for historical work, *πειράται συγκρίνειν αὐτὸς ἐκ παραβολῆς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς λόγοις*. It is possible that Ephorus and Timaeus presented here the basis for a debate

<sup>1</sup> A. P. 12, 117: Headlam gives the following spirited translation in *Fifty Poems of Meleager* (Macmillan, 1890), p. 43:

Try the hazard! light torches! I'll go! come, be bold!  
Thou drunkard, what meanest? A revel I'll hold.  
A revel? Mind, whither? What's logic to Love?  
Quick, a torch! Our long reasoning, vain shall it prove?  
Away with the labors of wisdom! I know  
This only, that Zeus too by Love was brought low.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., Susemihl, *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, I, 46<sup>146</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 42: "Asellio Sabino sestertia ducenta donavit (Tiberius) pro dialogo in quo boleti et ficedulae et ostreae et turdi certamen induxerat."

May not Pliny (*Epist.* 1, 7, 6) preserve a reminiscence of this *certamen*? "Paene praeterii, quod minime praetereundum fuit, accepisse me careotes optimas quae nunc cum ficis et boletis certandum habent."

<sup>4</sup> See *Some Aspects of the Ancient Allegorical Debate*, pp. 75-82.

in which the contestants were "The Rhetorician" and "The Historian."<sup>1</sup> Alcaeus of Messene, too, according to Polybius (32, 6, 5), wrote *Συγκρίσεις*, full of witty gibes against his opponents. Here, apparently, the contest, allegorical or not, has turned in the direction of personal satire.

The Alexandrian age brought to literary perfection a class of poetry destined to produce and to influence allegorical debates. The essence of the Pastoral is a strife of song between shepherds who may be allegorical themselves or may introduce allegorical themes. Their productions are often submitted to a judge and a prize awarded to the victor. All this is suggestively like the conventional debate. The alternating verses of the shepherds' songs where rival answers rival remind one of the stichomachies of Aristophanes. But the setting is entirely new. The debate has been transported to the country; it has become at once more homely and untrammelled, and the advantages of this fresh background captured the fancy of later poets. There are few instances of genuine allegorical debates in the work of Theocritus and his imitators, Bion and Moschus. The following approximations to the type should, however, be noted.

Idyl 5, ll. 80 ff., presents a singing-match, judged by Morson, between a goat-herd, Comatas, and a shepherd, Lacon. Each character is typical of his occupation and lays stress on it; Comatas is sure to mention his goats, Lacon his sheep. Comatas labors under the inevitable disadvantage of the contestant who begins the match. Strictly speaking, Lacon should have begun the match, for he (ll. 21 ff.) is the challenger. Such is the usual rule even in pastoral (cf. *Id.* 6, l. 5). Lacon's part is to outdo his rival's boast and in general he succeeds. Compare especially the skilful turn he gives to vv. 94 and 95 and 134 and 135. Once he loses his temper in an unsportsmanlike manner (cf. 120 ff.) and occasionally (as 114 f.) his reply lacks point, but obviously he deserves to win and Morson's judgment is a clear instance of partiality. Possibly this is the poet's way of proving the unconventionality of the pastoral; it is truer to rustic life, if not so faithful to the precedents of literary debate.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hirzel, *op. cit.*, I, 452, n. 2. So Praxiphanes, in his *περὶ ἱστορίας*, recounted a contest between Poetry, represented by prominent poets, and Thucydides, who advocated the cause of History. Cf. Hirzel, *Dialog*, I, 311, and *Hermes*, XIII (1878), 46 ff.

Idyl 6 is not amoebean. Daphnis sings of Polyphemus's love for Galatea and Damoetas answers, impersonating the Cyclops, and thus adding a dramatic element to the pastoral. This contest ends inconclusively, as is not uncommon in the regular debate.

Idyl 7 is the only probable instance in Theocritus of the pastoral masquerade. The contestants are not genuine rustics; Lycidas conceals beneath his "tawny goat-skin" and old cloak the personality of some real contemporary poet, perhaps Leonidas of Tarentum, and Simichidas is Theocritus himself. Such a contest may fairly be called allegorical. Like the previous one, it ends without the bestowal of prizes. The contestants simply part in all good fellowship and go their several ways.

In Idyl 8, the amoebean strife is combined with longer songs which conclude the encounter. Of the two contestants, Daphnis, the cowherd, and Menalcas, the keeper of goats, it is a foregone conclusion that Daphnis, the challenged singer and the famous hero of pastoral, shall conquer. The judge is a goatherd, the prizes are pipes. The contest is much more amicable than the one presented in Idyl 5, the singers vie in mutual good wishes (32 ff.) and seem in general much less typical and less rustic figures than Lacon and Comatas.

Far shorter is the contest in Idyl 9, where Daphnis and Menalcas both sing in pastoral strain and receive reward.

The favorite Daphnis appears once more in the twenty-seventh idyl, attributed to Theocritus, and at least modelled upon his work and Bion's. The shepherd and the maid of his choice (a mere rustic, for this Daphnis bears not the least resemblance to the chaste hero who loved a nymph and was faithful unto death) engage in lively amoebean argument till the suitor at length prevails. These characters—the lover and his lass—may also be regarded as rather typical than individual.

Idyl 30 finds the poet at war with his own heart. He 'calls his heart before him' (l. 11) and reproaches it for an untimely love and his heart in answer pleads the invincibility of Eros.

Of Bion we may note fragment 14, practically a debate between the Seasons; of Moschus, *Europa*, 6 ff., reminiscent of Atossa's dream in Aeschylus, and fragment 1, a beautiful adumbration of a debate between Land and Sea.



The poet Sositheos also introduced the figure of Daphnis as victor in a pastoral contest. (Schol. Theoc. 8 argum.: Δάφνις ἢ Λιτυέροης — Σωσίθεος δὲ λέγει Δάφνιν . . . γενόμενον, ὑφ' οὗ νικηθῆναι Μενάλκην Πανὸς [καὶ νύμφων] κρίναντος. . . .)

Medea at the crisis of her fate is represented by Apollonius Rhodius as torn by conflicting emotions. The passage (*Argon.* 3, 651 ff.) resembles an allegorical debate:

τηῦσσι δὲ πόδες φέρον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·  
ἦτοι ὅτ' ἰθύσειεν, ἔρκε μιν ἔνδοθεν αἰδώς·  
αἰδοῖ δ' ἐργομένην θρασὺς ἱμερος ὁτρύνεσκεν.

In the fourth book of the *Argonautica*, Medea's Phaeacian maids are moved to merriment at the scanty sacrifice the stormbound Argonauts are forced to make.

1725 τὰς δ' αἰσχροῖς ἥρωες ἐπεστοβέεσκον ἔπεσιν  
χλεύη γηθόσυννοι· γλυκερὴ δ' ἀνεδαίετο τοῖσιν  
κερτομή καὶ νέικος ἐπεσβόλον. ἐκ δέ νυ κείνης  
μολπῆς ἡρώων νήσῳ ἔνι τοῖα γυναῖκες  
ἀνδράσι δηριόωνται, ὅτ' Ἀπόλλωνα θυγαῖς  
Αἰγλήτην Ἀνάφης τιμήορον ἰλάσκωνται.

(Cf. Theoc. *Id.* 1, 33 ff.)

The best of Alexandrian debates was the work of Apollonius's great rival, Callimachus. Part of the *Iambi*, fortunately recovered in a papyrus<sup>1</sup> recently brought to light, contains the heated arguments of Olive-Tree and Laurel.

The first verses of the fragment refer, according to the conjecture of A. S. Hunt, "to a legend of a reversal of the common order of nature in the reign of Saturn, when the sphere of men and beasts were exchanged." In ll. 171 ff. Callimachus alludes to an Aesopic fable recounting this myth (ταῦτα δ' Αἰσώπος ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς εἶπεν). Though not found among the extant fables of Aesop or Babrius, the story reminds one of the *Θηρία* of Crates where the life of the Golden Age is described. According to the apparent meaning of the fragments of the comedy, when that happy time is restored animals will be able to speak, and even furniture will move about responsive to the will of man.

<sup>1</sup> *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Pt. VII, 1910, No. 1011, pp. 20 ff.

This is all that can be deciphered on the first page of the fragment. On the second (ll. 192 ff.) two unknowns meet, one of whom perhaps recounts to the other the quarrel of the trees. Laurel began the contest, and the fragment, after a few indistinguishable lines, introduces us to her jeering speech,

218 ὀριστερὸς μὲν λευκὸς ὡς ὕδρου γαστήρ,  
ὁ δ' ἥλιοπλήξ ὅς τὰ [π]ολλὰ γυμνοῦται.

It is obvious that the Laurel is commenting unfavorably upon her rival's appearance. The editor of the Papyrus notes: "The reference in these two lines is obscure. It can hardly be to the olive, with regard to which the distinction of right and left would be inapposite; nor do the olive's leaves or fruit show any such variation of color as is here indicated. Murray suggests that a person wearing an exomis is meant, perhaps Apollo, who is sometimes so represented." But surely Laurel would not refer to her great patron, Apollo, by any such comparison as

λευκὸς ὡς ὕδρου γαστήρ.

Moreover, the leaves of the olive do show just such a variation in color as Callimachus implies.<sup>1</sup> As to the distinction of right and left, if we adopt part of Murray's suggestion and remember that the exomis was the dress of the lower classes, may not Laurel's simile have run somewhat as follows?

'Your leaves mark you as inferior. You are like a slave wearing an exomis, whose left shoulder is white like a snake's belly, whereas his right, the exposed shoulder, is smitten by the sun' (and so darker like the upper surface of the leaf).

Laurel continues, boasting of the high uses to which she is put. The Pythia makes her couch of laurel, laurel is used at the Pythian dance and for all Apollo's ritual. The Olive, on the contrary, is associated with burial.

Olive succeeds in rebuffing the taunt. She counts her connection with funeral rites as an honor. She accompanies heroes to the tomb and in the great festival at Olympia she forms the prize. The birds among her branches have told her scandal about her adversary. The

<sup>1</sup> See *Century Dictionary* (1890), Vol. IV, p. 4103: ". . . The leaves are small and lance-shaped, dark-green above and silvery beneath."

earth produced Laurel, but Olive was the offspring of Athene's contention with Poseidon. 'That is one fall for the Laurel' (265). The Olive also is far more useful. Fall number two! And last of all, the olive-branch is the suppliant's friend.

A third party here intervenes (294 ff.) and endeavors to reconcile the opponents. Laurel, however, receives the attempt with vituperation and the fragment ends in uncertainty. Another bit of the story (Callim. *frag.* 93 b) gives us a phrase of Olive's:

ἐγὼ φαύλη  
πάντων τῶν δένδρων εἰμί.

Such humility must belong to the final scene of reconciliation, or, more likely, it is bitterly ironical.<sup>1</sup>

This debate is unique.<sup>2</sup> In it contend no longer Virtues and Vices, shadowy abstracts from a philosopher's brain, but common trees, gifted as in the happy Golden Age with eloquent and even rhetorical speech. The humanizing influence of the pastoral is here combined with the fairy-tale atmosphere of the beast fable where animal argues with animal, plant with plant. This tendency, too, was destined to be potent in the allegorical debates of later ages.

## V

The Renaissance under Hadrian and his successors produced, among other literary blessings, a crop of allegorical debates. Often such a contest may spring from the *συγκρίσεις* so fashionable in the rhetorical schools. I have alluded above to the ambiguity existing in the term *σύγκρισις* itself.

Such "comparisons" appealed to Plutarch. After each of seventeen pairs of Lives he adds a *σύγκρισις* in which the points, now of likeness, now of difference, between the two heroes are discussed. In one case,

<sup>1</sup> The words are quoted under the caption *ἀστεισμός* in Cod. Oxon. *περὶ τρόπων ποιητικῶν*.

<sup>2</sup> There are suggestions of possible debates in other fragments of Callimachus. In the *Hecale* birds speak, among them the Crow whom the Olive humorously chides (278) for chattering of Laurel's deficiencies. The Owl has a word to say elsewhere (*frag.* 164). Callimachus told the tale of the strife of Poseidon and Athene judged by Cecrops (*frag.* 384). This may have contained at least material for a debate, though in it actions probably spoke louder than words.

a comparison involving four characters is provided. Plutarch recognizes the element of contrast as well as of comparison.<sup>1</sup> In general, the qualities of the two Lives under discussion are evenly balanced in the *σύγκρισις*. Sometimes (as in the Comparison of Philopoemon and Flamininus, ch. 3, § 3, and in the double Comparison of Agis, Cleomenes, and the Gracchi, ch. 5, § 6) he actually awards the palm for special virtues to one contestant or the other. The likeness between Demosthenes and Cicero is itself expressed in the form of a contest between Nature and Fortune.<sup>2</sup>

Many also of Plutarch's essays occupy this middle ground between a simple comparison and a contest. Sometimes the debate is clearly in the writer's mind, even though the dialogue-form is absent. So in the *Aqua an Ignis Utilior*, Plutarch argues first on the side of Water, and then, with even greater vehemence, on the side of Fire. The Atheist and the Superstitious Man are emphatically contrasted in the *De Superstitione* and the whole essay on *Quomodo Adulator ab amico internoscatur* is in essence, though not in form, a debate of characters like those of Theophrastus.

Man is, as it were, divided against himself and the calamities which fall to his lot contrasted in *Animine an Corporis Affectiones sint Peiores*, 500 c :

ἡμεῖς δ' ὥσπερ ἤδη νικῶντα κακοδαιμονία τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀθλιώτατον ζῶν ἀνηγορευμένον, αὐτὸν αὐτῷ συγκρίνωμεν, εἰς ἰδίῳν κακῶν ἀγῶνα σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν διαιροῦντες. . . .

*De Libidine et Aegritudine*, ch. 2, introduces Demosthenes's statement as to the supposed accusation of Body against Soul. This is contrasted with the precisely opposite statement of Theophrastus.<sup>3</sup> In the following paragraphs the contradictory opinions of philosophers upon the question are discussed and contrasted. That the writer regards the essay as in some sort a contest between the claims of Soul

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Theseus*, ch. 1, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Demos.*, ch. 3, § 4: ὥστ' εἰ γένοιτο τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καθάπερ τεχνίταις ἄμιλλα, χαλεπῶς ἂν διακριθῆναι πότερον αὕτη τοῖς τρόποις ἢ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκείνη τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁμοιοτέρους ἀπείργασται.

<sup>3</sup> Θεόφραστος δὲ τούναντίον ἔφη τῷ σώματι πολλοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐνοικεῖν, ὀλίγου χρόνου βαρεῖς μισθοὺς ὑποτελοῦσαν, τὰς λύπας τοὺς φόβους τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τὰς ζηλοτυπίας, αἷς συμφερομένην περὶ τὸ σῶμα δικαιότερον ἂν αὐτῷ δικάζοιτο πηρώσεως ὧν ἐπιλέλησται, καὶ βιαίων ἐφ' οἷς κατέχεται, καὶ ὕβρεων ὧν ἀδοξεῖ καὶ λοιδορεῖται, τῶν ἐκείνου κακῶν ἀναδεχομένη τὰς αἰτίας οὐ προσηκόντως.



and Body is clear from his words in chapter 3: Ἀγωνιστέον οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας· καλὸς γὰρ ὁ ἀγών.

In *An Vitiositas ad Infelicitatem Sufficiat*, 3, 498f ff., Plutarch proposes that Fortune and Vice shall vie with each other in plans for making a man's life unhappy. The debate is sketched, but not developed, for Vice alone speaks.

The *Amatorius*, written by Plutarch or a member of his school, is in reality a debate between Lawful and Unlawful Love. The situation, as Plutarch realizes, is dramatic (cf. 749a: εὐθὺς ἡ πρόφασις, ἐξ ἧς ὠρμήθησαν οἱ λόγοι, χορὸν αἰτεῖ τῷ πάθει καὶ σκηνῆς δέεται, τὰ τ' ἄλλα δράματος οὐδὲν ἐλλείπει). The principal characters of the drama are Anthemion, the cousin, and Pisias, the admirer of Baccho. Ismenodora, a wealthy widow, loves Baccho. Anthemion upholds this match, Pisias opposes it. Plutarch and his friends (ch. 3) act as umpires in the controversy and judge the arguments of Protophenes, who speaks for Pisias, and Daphnaeus, who acts as Anthemion's advocate. In chapter 6, Anthemion and Pisias speak themselves and in chapter 9, Plutarch pleads the cause of Lawful Love, so that we may conjecturally award the prize of victory to Daphnaeus, the second speaker. The discussion is terminated (ch. 10) by the sudden announcement of Ismenodora's marriage to Baccho.

Again, *De Gloria Atheniensium* might be condensed into a debate on the question, *Resolved that the Sword is mightier than the Pen*. In its present state, the treatise is very one-sided, for Plutarch firmly espouses the cause of the Sword. From chapter 3 on the impression of contest grows clearer, till in chapter 6 a phantom procession of poets, actors, and generals marches by. The first two groups come off but poorly, whereas the generals receive enthusiastic praise for the benefits they have bestowed upon the city.

More developed specimens of the debate appear in essays like the first oration on Alexander (chs. 1-3), where that hero speaks in his own defence against the assertion of Fortune that she alone is responsible for his greatness. The work begins as if it were in continuation of one in which Fortune's claims had been fully represented. Other speeches addressed to Fortune appear in the second oration (ch. 4, 337a; ch. 9, 340f).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *De Iside et Osiride*, 19, p. 358d, Plutarch alludes to the impeachment of Horus for bastardy, to his advocacy by Hermes and his acquittal by all the gods.

*De Fortuna Romanorum* is concerned with the query whether Virtue or Fortune was more responsible for the founding and greatness of Rome. Chapter 3 describes the meeting and opposite qualities of the characters involved. Here again it is interesting to see how vividly Plutarch envisages the contention (cf. 317c: Νυνὶ δέ μοι δοκῶ τοῦ προβλήματος ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς καθορᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὴν τε Τύχην καὶ τὴν Ἀρετὴν βαδιζούσας). Fortune and Virtue strongly resemble the corresponding allegorical figures in the Choice of Heracles. Virtue is modest and serious and her stately train is composed of the heroes of the Roman past. Fortune, like Vice, boldly and arrogantly outstrips her rival. She holds a horn of plenty in her hand and includes in her company her Roman favorites, such as Sulla and Numa Pompilius. In chapter 5, 318d, the Romans themselves are cited as witnesses to Fortune who speaks for herself in chapter 8. The part of the essay which introduced the arguments of Virtue is unfortunately lost.

Constructed on the same plan as *Amatorius*, but far more interesting, is the debate in *De Sollertia Animalium*. Aristotimus and Phaedimus have offered, during a general discussion of the proposition that "all creatures are in some manner partakers of understanding," to defend, one the title of the land-animals to being considered more intelligent, the other that of the sea-animals (ch. 2, 960a). They are preparing for the dispute. Meanwhile Soclarus and Autobulus continue the discussion of the previous day. They are interrupted by the arrival of the disputants with their adherents (ch. 8). Optatus, Soclarus, and Autobulus are the umpires (965d).

The land-animals, represented by Aristotimus, are allowed to begin. He discusses the crafty contrivances of swallows, spiders, bees, geese, etc. Ants and elephants give him lengthy illustrations. After various anecdotes, ending with instances of the prophetic power of animals, he concludes with a denunciation of fishes and the sea (975c). Phaedimus is then exhorted in significant words,<sup>1</sup> to present his side of the

Later (54, 373B) he gives an allegorical interpretation to the characters involved. Horus is the Image of the Intellectual World, Hermes is Reason. This turns the trial into an allegorical debate.

<sup>1</sup> "Ἀναγε τὰς ὀφρῦς, ᾧ φιλεῖ Φαίδιμε, καὶ διέγειρε σεαυτὸν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐνάλοις καὶ νησιώταις· οὐ παιδιὰ τὸ χρέμα τοῦ λόγου γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἐρρωμένος ἀγὼν καὶ ῥητορεία κυγκλίδων ἐπιδέουσα καὶ βήματος.

argument. Animals of the sea, he explains, are just as intelligent, but not so accessible to man and, therefore, not so well-known or so well-trained as land-animals. They are more helpful to each other and often much more cunning. The halcyon is a notable example of affection. The dolphin is also instanced. Then (ch. 37) the judges are asked to pronounce sentence. They decide that both parties have been champions against those who seek to rob animals of reason and intelligence.

This decision is somewhat surprising. It corresponds, to be sure, to the main question,<sup>1</sup> but the whole debate has turned in the direction of the *comparative* claims of land- and sea-animals. On this point the contest remains undecided. The result, like the attitude of the writer of the *Amatorius*, shows a leaning toward compromise and reconciliation, a desire to bring harmony out of contest, which, however unfavorable to the development of the typical debate, is eminently characteristic of Plutarch's lovable nature.

Not only Hellenes, but foreigners felt the spell of the Allegorical Debate. In Lucian, the mild, antiquarian spirit of Plutarch has disappeared; an eminently modern humor, satire trenchant as Bernard Shaw's, takes its place. Of the works which contain more or less definite resemblances to the type under discussion, I may mention first the *Hermotimus*, ch. 25 ff., where the various roads leading to the city of Virtue and the guides to each are contrasted in a way probably suggested by the apologue of Prodicus, (cf. ch. 15.) Suggestive of this is the description in the *Rhetorum Praeceptor*, of the two roads leading to the stately figure of Rhetoric (ch. 6 ff.). The first road is a mere path, thorny and rough, the other, broad, well-watered, and flowery. The guide of the rough track is a strong, severe man who exhorts pilgrims to follow in the foot-steps of Plato, Demosthenes, and other ancient worthies. Many years of hard toil are required of his disciples. The *didaskalos* recommends dismissing him and turning to the other road where the learner will find a perfumed favorite of Aphrodite and the Graces who will teach Rhetoric in a twinkling. The speech of this fop follows (13 ff.). As he is supposed to represent the rhetor, Julius

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<sup>1</sup> Hirzel loses sight of this. See *Dialog*, II, 178.



Pollux, we may consider the passage as a near approach to an allegorical debate.

The essay on *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit* contains (ch. 8 ff.) a σύγκρισις of Poetry and History which, as usual, furnishes us with the elements of a debate.

The *Toxaris* turns on the question whether Greeks or Scythians make better friends. The contestants are a typical Greek and a typical Scythian, each of whom upholds the honor of his fatherland. They forget to appoint an umpire (62) and end their contest in an eminently Plutarchian style with vows of eternal friendship.

The *Iudicium Vocalium* contains an exciting "action for assault with robbery," Σ vs. Τ. Tau's defence is not presented, but Sigma's impassioned pleading and his citing of the victims of Tau (10) as evidence are both amusing and unique.

Infinitely varied are the sources from which Lucian drew suggestions for his debates. Under the influence of the *Plutus* is the scene (*Timon*, ch. 38) where the god of Wealth replies to Timon's charges in 36. As a result of his speech, Timon reluctantly consents to become a millionaire once more.

In the *De Domo*, Lucian utters a panegyric on the hall where he is speaking, urging that its magnificence is stimulating to oratory (4). Another Thought or Theory, however, keeps trying to interrupt him and, when it has finally succeeded in breaking the thread of his discourse, it opposes him, maintaining that the very beauty of the hall makes it an unfit place for an orator to hold forth by distracting the attention of both speaker and hearers (14). The Theory then comes forward and formally pleads its cause (15 ff.) before the audience as jury. The rest of the essay is occupied with its arguments and its description of the pictures which adorn the hall. The Theory ends with a recommendation to the audience to favor the speaker by shutting their eyes during his discourse.

A conversation between Lucian<sup>1</sup> and Theomnestus in the *Amores* leads to the narrative of the writer's journey to Cnidus and the opposite impressions produced on his two companions, Charicles and Callicratidas, by the Aphrodite of Praxiteles. Lucian himself (18) is the

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<sup>1</sup> Or pseudo-Lucian. See Hirzel, *Dialog*, II, 282.



judge of the debate which then arises as to the pleasures of Lawful and Unlawful Love. The lot gives Charicles, champion of Lawful Love, the privilege of beginning and thereby dooms him to defeat. Lucian's attitude is directly opposed to that of the writer of the *Amatorius* and, as Hirzel<sup>1</sup> points out, the piece has probably direct, polemical connection with the Plutarchian dialogue.

In the *Piscator*, the philosophers whom Lucian has maligned rise from Hades to attack him. He proposes (9) that they should form a court to try him with Philosophy as president. Philosophy appears, accompanied by Virtue, Temperance, Truth, Justice, and other appropriate assistants. All proceed for the trial to the forecourt of Athene Polias. Lucian, in reply to Philosophy, gives himself the significant name Parrhesiades. Diogenes (25 ff.), in behalf of his comrades, accuses Lucian of deriding the philosophers and enticing from their ranks their old friends, Dialogue and Menippus. Parrhesiades defends himself by the plea that it was only the apish imitators and degraders of true philosophy whom he reviled and he calls on Truth (37 fin.) to confirm his words. This important witness takes his part and all the philosophers acquit him. This scene is foreshadowed in the discussion between Dicaeopolis and the chorus in the *Acharnians*.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps the most famous and amusing of allegorical debates is that in the *Somnium* between Sculpture and Culture. The fable of Prodicus appears here humorously transformed. The struggle of the two contestants for the future of the young Lucian is so violent that he is almost torn in two by their exertions (6). Sculpture begins, is therefore defeated, and in her rage turns appropriately to stone.

Richest in debates is the *Bis Accusatus* where Justice and Hermes at the command of Zeus descend to offer to all litigants a free trial. The first case on the docket is "Drink *vs.* Academy on the charge of kidnapping Polemon." Here again, the influence of the old comedy, notably of Cratinus, is evident. Drink is unfortunately incapacitated by her chronic failing and unable to plead her cause. But Academy kindly undertakes to be her rival's advocate (16) and follows this plea by one in her own behalf (17), winning her case by a vote of six to one. Porch *vs.* Pleasure, represented by Epicurus, results in an unan-

<sup>1</sup> *Dialog*, II, 281.

<sup>2</sup> Hirzel, *Dialog*, II, 306 f.

imous verdict for the defendant and an appeal to Zeus on the part of Porch. The next case of Luxury *vs.* Virtue stands over till Zeus decides the appeal of Porch in her similar suit. The trial of Bank *vs.* Diogenes is postponed while Diogenes pursues his fleeing adversary, and the next case goes to plaintiff by default.

Last come the famous suits against the Syrian brought by Rhetoric, his deserted wife, and Dialogue, his new companion. The first case is again reminiscent of Cratinus. The pathetic plea of the deserted wife (26 ff.) who has bestowed upon an ungrateful husband the benefits of travel and education is made ridiculous by the Syrian's account of her undesirably coquettish qualities. Dialogue's plaint that his friend has degraded him and deprived him of the winged magic of poetry is ably answered by his adversary who substitutes, for degradation, popularization and prides himself upon the feat. In both cases, the jury are all but unanimous in the Syrian's favor.

*Pseudo-Logistes*, chs. 25 and 26, contains a diatribe in which the tongue is imagined as resenting the ignominious tasks imposed upon it and the reply of its owner to the charge is indicated.

The allegorical debate has reached in Lucian its fullest development in classical literature. It has entered a sort of comic-opera fairyland where no flight of fancy is impossible and no material unavailable. And yet this flexibility was inherent in it from the first. Lyric Poetry, Philosophy, Rhetoric, Drama, the Pastoral have all contributed to make it one of the most interesting and one of the most typical products of Hellenic imagination.

A MANUSCRIPT OF JEROME'S *DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS*  
BELONGING TO THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMI-  
NARY IN NEW YORK

BY WILLIAM HENRY PAINE HATCH

THE MS. which is to be discussed and collated in the present article was bought of a London bookseller, James Tregaskis, by the General Theological Seminary of New York in September, 1910, and is now in the library of the Seminary (No. 920 J 47). The bookseller purchased the codex at a sale of many important and valuable MSS., belonging to the fifth Earl of Ashburnham, in the year 1901. Before it became a part of the Ashburnham library the codex belonged to Jean Baptiste Joseph Barrois, once a representative of Nord in the French Chamber of Deputies, and a well-known collector of books and MSS.<sup>1</sup> M. Barrois sold his collection of MSS. to the fourth Earl of Ashburnham in 1849. Beyond this point it is not possible to trace the history of the codex.

No designation has ever been given to the MS. Since it is now permanently lodged in New York, I shall call it Codex Neoeboracensis and use the letter Q as its sign.<sup>2</sup>

Codex Q is a clearly and carefully written minuscule MS. It contains 95 leaves of parchment and is bound in a modern binding of black morocco. The cover is ornamented with blind and gold tooling and the edges of the leaves are gilded. On the back of the volume the title *DE VIRIS ILLUSTR'*. MS. SEC. X is printed in gold letters. However, the codex is certainly later than the 10th century. On the inside of the cover the words "Copy discoloured | Pre | Cor Iub | Oct 1849" are written with a lead pencil. "Saec. XIII." has also been inserted on the inside of the

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<sup>1</sup> On M. Barrois cf. Delisle, *Catalogue des Manuscrits des Fonds Libri et Barrois*, pp. xxxviii f.

<sup>2</sup> The remaining letters of the alphabet, both capital and small, have been assigned to MSS. of the *De Viris Illustribus*. For a list of the MSS. of this work cf. Richardson, in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, XIV (1896), pp. ix f.

cover with a lead pencil. This date was taken from the sale catalogue of the Ashburnham MSS., which is said to have been based on the Barrois catalogue. It is approximately correct.

The leaves of the codex have been trimmed a little by the binder, and they now measure  $14.3 \times 9.6$  cm. They are numbered with Arabic numerals, which are written with paler ink and appear to belong to the 15th or 16th century.<sup>1</sup> The MS. is composed of nine gatherings or quires. There are ten leaves in each of these, except the third, which contains twelve leaves. At the end of the codex three extra leaves were added. Catch-words (*exclamantes*), a sign of a date not earlier than the 12th century,<sup>2</sup> are found at the end of each quire. There are sixteen lines, written in one column, on the page. Horizontal lines to aid the scribe's eye as he wrote, and vertical lines to keep the columns straight, are still clearly visible. They were ruled with a lead point, a practice not in vogue till the 12th century.<sup>3</sup> The parchment is smooth, white, and of a good quality. The leaves vary in thickness and some of them are somewhat discolored. In the earlier part of the MS. the ink is brown, but it grows slightly blacker as the work proceeds. The title BEATI IERONIMI PRESBYTERI DE VIRIS ILLVSTRIBUS LIBER INCIPIT FELICITER, the opening words of the work HORTARIS . . . ECCLESIASTICOS, the proper name at the beginning of each chapter, and the word FINIS at the end of the MS. are written in capital letters. Capitals are also found after long pauses, but naturally they are not used for beginning proper names in the body of the text. The title and the initial letter of the first word in each chapter are in red ink; but no other colored ink is used in the codex.

The diphthongs *ae* and *oe* are always represented by *e* without the cedilla.<sup>4</sup> *T* is often used for *c* before *i*, as in *allitia*, *provincia*, etc. The prepositions *ad* and *in* in composition are almost always assimilated, as *affero*, *immolo*, etc.<sup>5</sup> Likewise *con* and *in* before *p* in composi-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prou, *Manuel de paléographie latine et française*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 288 f.

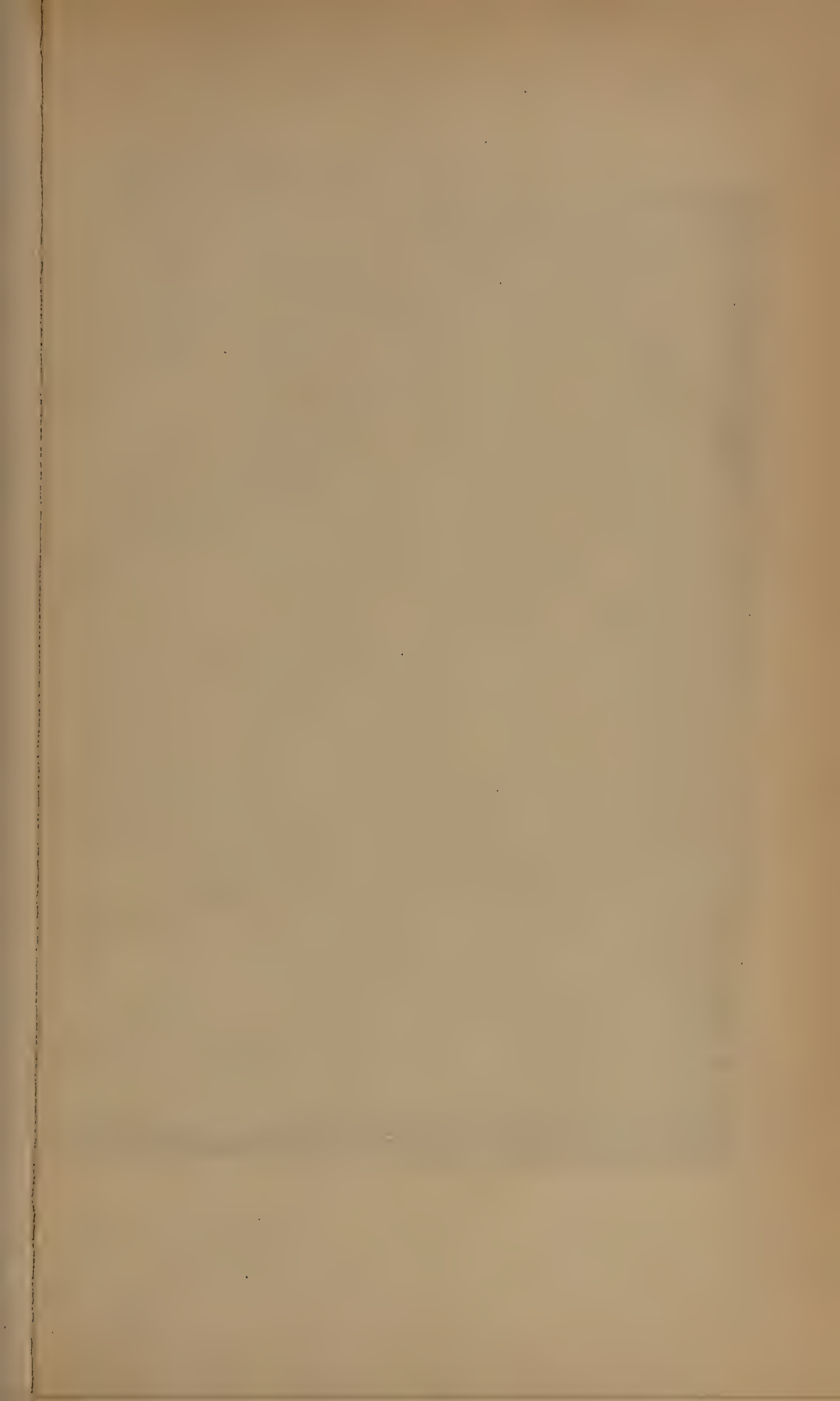
<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> The use of *e* without the cedilla for *ae* and *oe* prevails in books from the end of the 12th century. Cf. Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. xix.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad* is unassimilated in only four cases: *adseuerent* (p. 27, l. 14), *adgressus* (p. 32, l. 14), *adnitente* (p. 36, l. 12), *adprime* (p. 55, l. 10). *Substinens* occurs once





bliotheca quā pāphilus mar-  
tir studiosissime confect  
mibi quoq; anazereis qui  
in beroae urbe syrie hoc no-  
lumine utūtur describēdi  
facultas fuit. In quo animad-  
uertēdū qđ ubicūq; euange-  
lista siue ex persona sua siue  
ex omī saluatoris ueteris  
scripture testimonijs utit  
non sequitur septuāginta  
translatorū autētem s; hebra-  
icam. Equib' illa duo sunt:

**I** Ex egypto uocaui filium meū.  
Et qm nazareus uocabitur.  
VDAS frater iacobi ipam

unā que de septē canonicis  
est eplām reliquit et quia  
de libro enoch qui apocryph⁹  
est in ea assūmit testimo-  
nium a plerisq; reicitur  
tñ auctem uetustatem iā  
et usum meruit et inter  
sanctas scripturas cōputat⁹.

**A**VLVS apl⁹ qui ante  
saul⁹ extra numerum  
duodecim aplōr de tribu  
beniamin et opido iude  
egiscalis fuit quo aromāis  
capto cū parentib⁹ suis thar-  
sum cilicie cōmigravit a  
quib⁹ ob studia legis missus





tion appear as *com* and *im*.<sup>1</sup> *O* instead of *u* is found in *adolesco* and its derivatives, as well as in *epistola* (when the word is written out in full). *I* and *y* are frequently interchanged, as in *Ciprianus*, *Epyphanius*, etc. Initial *h* is often lacking, as in *Ieronimus*, *omelia*, etc. Strokes are generally placed over *i* long or short. This occurs not only when *i* is used in juxtaposition with *m*, *n*, *u*, or another *i*, but also when the *i* stands alone.<sup>2</sup> The stroke is also found over *y*. The earlier custom of joining a preposition and the word governed by it is frequently observed, as *anobis*, *inquibus*, etc.<sup>3</sup> The titles of Greek works mentioned in the text are usually translated into Latin, the Greek form being omitted; as *informationum* for ὑποτυπώσεις, *cantorem* for Ψάλτην, etc. Sometimes, however, Greek words are simply transliterated. Numbers, both cardinal and ordinal, are sometimes written out in full and sometimes represented by Roman numerals.

The punctuation of the ms. is erratic. The *suspensiva*, the *constans*, and a short vertical stroke extending a little below the line are used indiscriminately to indicate a short or a long pause. The interrogation point is not employed. A single hyphen is used to connect the syllables of a word which is divided at the end of a line; but the hyphen is not repeated at the beginning of the next line.

Abbreviations and contractions are very numerous in Q. There is, however, nothing irregular or unusual about them, and hence they require no comment.

Most of the mss. of Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* contain also the work of Gennadius which bears the same title. Codex Q, however, gives only the work of Jerome, beginning with the *Prologus* and ending with the chapter on Jerome himself. Some mss. contain two additional chapters on Valerianus and Prudentius. Thus Q groups itself with the relatively small number of codices which give only the work of Jerome

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(p. 38, l. 18). Page and line refer to Richardson's critical edition in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, xiv (1896), pp. 1 f.

<sup>1</sup> This statement is based on the usage of the ms. when the words in question are written out in full.

<sup>2</sup> The stroke over *i* standing alone occurs as early as the 12th century. Cf. Wattenbach, *Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie*<sup>4</sup>, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Instances of this are found as late as the 12th and 13th centuries. Cf. Steffens, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

and that in the shorter form.<sup>1</sup> But these mss. are largely of late date and we should not be justified in regarding their text as the original.<sup>2</sup> Codex Q, moreover, omits the catalogue of chapters following the *Prologus*. No other sections are missing, and there are no additions consisting of more than a few words.

There are many corrections and erasures in Q. Words are frequently written in the margin, and words and letters are sometimes added above the line. In three places variant readings, introduced in each case by *alius*, are given in the margin. These corrections and variant readings are contemporary with the original scribe and appear to be from his hand. At the beginning of the chapter on James there is a marginal gloss written with ink of an inferior quality. I am able to read only the words *sanctus Jacobus*. It may well be by the same hand that numbered the leaves of the codex with Arabic numerals.<sup>3</sup>

The ms. itself bears no date. It is carefully written in a clear minuscule hand of the post-Caroline period. The letters are full and round and show no trace of rigidity or angularity. The form of the letters and the general character of the writing indicate that Q was written towards the end of the 12th century. Other palaeographical matters of detail, such as the abbreviations and contractions used, the frequent joining of the preposition to the word governed by it, *e* without the cedilla for *ae* and *oe*, *i* with a stroke over it in places where no confusion with other letters could arise, accord with this view of the date.

The script of Q is very beautiful and compares favorably with some of the handsomest writing of the Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup> The letters are round and graceful in the Italian style, and the codex may have been written in Italy or southern France.

The mss. of Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* offer three variants in one clause of the *Prologus* (p. 2, l. 3): I, *Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum*; II, *Dominum Iesum Christum*; III, *Dominum Iesum*. Richardson considers the reading at this point crucial, and he arranges the

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<sup>1</sup> Richardson enumerates 30 such mss. Cf. Richardson, in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, XIV (1896), p. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Richardson, in *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> See the facsimile at the beginning of this article.

MSS. in groups on the basis of it.<sup>1</sup> Groups I and II consist of inferior codices dating from the 10th and later centuries. Group III, which contains 37 MSS., includes all the oldest and best codices as well as some of later date and less value. Each of these groups contains several classes. It is only certain members of Group III, according to Richardson, that need be taken into account in reconstructing the text of the *De Viris Illustribus*.<sup>2</sup>

Q contains a mixed text. It belongs to Group III, having the reading *Dominum Iesum*; but it also shows some affinity with Group II in the readings *canonicae* for *catholicae* (p. 6, l. 32) and *prioris* for *cum priore* (p. 6, l. 33). With the codices of class 2 in Group III Q has *scribitur* instead of *inscribitur* (p. 7, l. 2), although it has none of the other readings which are characteristic of this class.

The most important MSS. of Group III are T, 25, 30, A, *e*, *a*, 31, C, and H, which range from the 6th or 7th to the 10th century in date. The relationship of Q to these codices is indicated by the following figures, which are based upon an examination of 100 passages of the *De Viris Illustribus* in which erroneous readings are given<sup>3</sup>: —

Q agrees with	C	72 times.	Q agrees with	<i>a</i>	62 times.
" " "	H	69 "	" " "	A	54 "
" " "	<i>e</i>	69 "	" " "	30	49 "
" " "	31	66 "	" " "	T	37 "

Q agrees with 25 30 times.

Thus Q shows closest kinship with C, H, *e*, 31, and *a*.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, as the above-mentioned examination shows, Q disagrees at times with each of these five MSS. Moreover, the only reading peculiar to any one of them which is also found in Q, is the omission of *suis* (p. 14, l. 24). The word is omitted only in C and Q,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Richardson, in *op. cit.*, pp. xxv f. For stemmata illustrating the relationship of the MSS. cf. pp. xxxii and xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Richardson, in *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> For the readings of these MSS. I am dependent upon the *apparatus criticus* in Richardson's edition.

<sup>4</sup> C and H are two closely related Paris MSS. of the 10th century; *e* is an 8th or 9th century codex now in Vienna, formerly at Bobbio; 31 and *a* are two kindred MSS., 31 being of the 8th or 9th century and at Montpellier, and *a* being in Munich and dating from the 9th century.



but this coincidence is probably a mere accident. Hence it is obvious that the text of Q cannot have been derived solely from any one of these five MSS.

Nor is it descended solely from this group of codices; for in 4 out of the 100 readings examined Q agrees with T, 25, 30, or A against all of the above-mentioned five MSS. to which it is most closely related. These coincidences, all of which can hardly be regarded as accidental, are *Galilea* for *Galileae* (p. 16, l. 25), *Maximi* for *Maximini* (p. 41, l. 16), *multa* for *infinita* (p. 50, l. 11), and the omission of *De locis librum unum* (p. 55, l. 33). Of the codices T, 25, 30, and A only 25 has each of these four readings, but the omission of *De locis librum unum* in Q may be entirely independent of the same omission in 25. However, Q clearly bears some relationship to this group of related codices.<sup>1</sup>

But Q also contains some readings not found in any of the nine MSS. which have just been considered. These must be due to some other line or lines of textual transmission. A few of them, as *perrexit* for *pergit* (p. 6, l. 27), *tradidit* for *tradit* (p. 8, l. 6), *crediderant* for *crediderunt* (p. 8, l. 31), *pontificibus* for *pontifice* (p. 9, l. 23),<sup>2</sup> *diligebat* for *amavit* (p. 12, l. 29),<sup>3</sup> etc., are worthy of consideration, because on the ground of intrinsic probability they have a fair claim to be regarded as correct.

Finally, it is evident from what has been said that Q belongs to the best group of MSS., and that in many of its readings it is closely related to several of the principal codices. Besides, it contains several plausible readings which are not found in any of the best MSS. Therefore its testimony ought to be taken into account by future editors in reconstructing the text of the *De Viris Illustribus*.

In the following collation differences in punctuation and capitalization are not recorded unless the passages are cited for some other

<sup>1</sup> T is a Vatican MS. of the 6th or 7th century; 25 and 30 are 8th century codices at Verona and Vercelli respectively; and A, which is in Paris, dates from the 7th century. For their relationship to each other cf. Richardson, in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, XIV (1896), pp. xxix f.; and Bernouilli, *Hieronymus und Gennadius De Viris Illustribus*, pp. xxi f. In Bernouilli's account T = A, 25 = C, 30 = D, and A = B.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Acts ix, 14 and xxvi, 12 (τῶν ἀρχιερέων); xxii, 5 (ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς . . . καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέριον).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. John xiii, 23; xix, 26; xxi, 7, 20 (ἡγάπα); xx, 2 (ἐφίλει).



reason. Constant and frequently recurring spellings are given only at the place where they first occur; abbreviations and contractions are expanded. The collation is made on the basis of Richardson's critical edition.<sup>1</sup> Forms like *adfero*, *conpono*, and *inlustris* without assimilation are adopted by Richardson; but, it being understood that Q has the assimilated forms except in the cases noted above,<sup>2</sup> deviations of this sort are omitted in the collation.

P. I *init.* HIERONYMUS. LIBER DE VIRIS INLUSTRIBUS. [PROLOGUS]] BEATI IERONIMI PRESBYTERI DE VIRIS ILLVSTRIBVS LIBER INCIPIT FELICITER. — 2. ordinem] ordine. — 7. peripateticus] perypateticus. — 8. Carystius] caristius. — Satyrus] satirus. — 9. Aristoxenus] aristoreneus. — Varro, Santra, Nepos] uarios antranepos. — 12. mea et illorum similis condicio] similis mea et illorum conditio. — 13. historias] hystoriis. — potuerunt] *add.* ut. — 14. prato] *add.* non. — 15. praeuium] premium. — 17. Ecclesiasticae] *litt.* ccl'iastice *in ras.* — Historiae] ystorie.

P. 2, 1. et] ut. — volumina] uoluminum. — 2. testentur] testantur. — 5. catalogum] cathalogum. — ecclesiae eius] ecclesiasticis. — 6. cohortatione tua] cohortationem tuam. — 7. his] hiis *et saepe*. — scriptitant] scriptant. — 9. debebunt] debuit. — 10. nosse] nosce. — 12. silentii] scilentii. — 14. Porphyrius] *corr. ex* prophyrus. — aduersum] aduersus. — 20. Vale in Domino Iesu Christo] *om.* — 21. Incipiunt Capitula] *om.* — 22. *Catalogus capitum deest.*

P. 6, 22. Iohannis] iohanis *et saepissime*. — provinciae] prouintie *et saepe*. — Bethsaida] bethsayda. — 24. Antiochensis] anthiocensis *et passim*. — 25. Galatia] galacia. — Cappadocia] capadocia *et saepe*. — 26. Bithynia] bithinia. — 27. pergit] perrexit. — 29. martyrio] martirio *et passim*. — 30. elevatis] eleuatus. — 32. catholicae] canonicae. — 33. cum priore] prioris.

P. 7, 1. Actorum] actor. — inscribitur] scribitur. — 3. Ἀποκαλύψεως] apocalipseos. — Iudicii] iuditii. — apocryphas] apocrifas. — 5. celebratur] celebretur. — 10. Hierosolymorum] ierosolimorum *et passim*. — 12. catholicis] canonicis. — 13. eius] *om.* — 14. auctoritatem] auctorem. — 15. Hegesippus] Egisippus. — vicinus] in cuius. — apostolicorum] apostolorum. — 17. Hierosolymae] ierosolime *et saepissime*. — 19. matris] *add.* sue. — 20. comedit] comedit *et saepe*. — 21. Huic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Richardson, in *op. cit.*, pp. 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 48, n. 5.

soli licitum] Hic solitus. — 24. duritiam] duriciem. — 26. et *post* sed] *supra* *add.* — Iosephus] iosophus. — 27. ὑποτυπώσεων] commissionum, grecus *in marg.* — 29. Ananus] annanus *et passim.*

P. 8, 1. ἀναρχίας] *om.* grecus *in marg.;* *add.* id est in principatus. — 2. Dei filium] filium dei. — Qui] *add.* cum.<sup>1</sup> — 3. semianimis] semiuius. — 6. Tradit] Tradidit. — Iosephus] iosaphus. — 8. subversam] subuersa. — 9. Galatas] galathas *et passim.* — 14. refert] referet. — 15. autem cum] *corr. ex* cum autem. — sindonem] syndonem. — 16. comesurum] commesturum. — 20. Tulit] Tullit. — et *post* panem] *om.* — et *post* benedixit] *ac.* — et *post* fregit] *add.* post. — 23. Hierosolymae] ierosolimam. — 27. monte] montem. — 30. Matthaeus] Matheus *et passim.* — 31. crediderunt] crediderant. — Evangelium] euuangelium *et saepissime.* — 32. quis] qui.

P. 9, 1. bibliotheca] bybliothea. — 2. martyr] martir *et saepe.* — Nazaraeis] nazereis. — 3. Beroea] beroae. — 6. abutitur] utitur. — sequatur] sequitur. — 7. Hebraicam] hebraicum. — 11. parvam] ipsam unam. — catholicis] canonicis. — 12. apocryphus] apocriphus *et alibi.* — 14. vetustate] *corr. ex* uetustatem. — usu] usum. — 18. Indaeae Giscalis] inde egiscalis. — 19. Tarsum] tharsum. — 21. Gamaliele] gamalihele *corr.* — 23. pontifice] pontificibus. — 25. Actis] actibus. — 28. iuncto] adiuncto.

P. 10, 1. conversatione] conuersione. — 2. vicesimo] *add.* et. — 3. id est] *supra* *add.* — 5. aduersum] aduersus. — cotidie] quotidie. — 6. disputavit] *in marg.* — 7. erumpente] erupente. — scelera] *litt. c supra* *add.* — 8. narrant] narant. — historiae] istorie. — 9. partibus] partus *corr. ex* partibus. — 10. Timotheum] tymotheum. — 16. ab] de. — 18. salvabit] saluauit. — 24. novem] nomen. — 26. Colossenses] colossenses *et passim.* — Thessalonicenses] tesalonicenses. — 28. Philemoni] philonem. — 30. Tertullianum] tertulianum *et saepe.* — evangelistae] euuangeliste. — 31. postea] post. — 32. et ornasse] *om.* — 33. certe] *in marg.*

P. 11, 1. scripserat] scripsit. — 2. ea] et. — 7. Cyprius] cyprus. — Ioseph] iosephus. — 8. ad] *supra* *add.* — 11. nihilo minus] nichilominus. — evangelicae] euuangelice *litt. ce in ras.* — 15. apostoli Pauli] pauli apostoli. — 18. et] *om.* — 20. volumen egregium] egregium uolu-

<sup>1</sup> Cum a Richardsonio perperam omittitur.

men.—Apostolicorum πράξεις] apostolicarum actionum praxeon.—21. praenotatur] pernotatur.—historia] hystoria *et saepe cum litt. γ.*—24. Igitur] *add.* de laudibus.—περιόδους] periodois.—Theclae] tecele.—25. apocryphas scripturas] scripturas apocriphas.—28. σπουδαστήν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*—29. convictum] coniunctum.—30. fecisse] *add.* hoc.—31. quotiescumque] quotienscumque.—32. meum] memini.

P. 12, 13. edidit] dedit.—scribit] scribunt.—14. Ὑποτυπώσεων] informationum, grecus *in marg.*—Hierapolitanus] ieropolitanus.—15. Babylonis] babilonis.—16. vos] *add.* igitur ecclesia.—Babylone] babilone.—17. coëlecta] collecta.—18. perrexit] *add.* ad.—Aegyptum] egiptum *et saepe.*—19. adnuncians] annuntians.—tanta doctrina] tante doctrine.—vitae] *om.*—continentia] continentie fuit.—21. Philon] philo.—22. adhuc iudaizantem] iudaizantem adhuc.—quasi in] *in marg.*—23. conversatione] conuersione.—27. Anniano] aniano.—29. Iesus amavit] diligebat iesus.—31. decollavit] decollauerat.

P. 13, 1. Cerinthum] chyrintum.—2. Ebionitarum] hebionitarum.—3. etiam] et iam.—4. eius nativitatem] natiuitatem eius.—6. quidem] quidam.—9. acta] actu.—10. carcerem] carcere.—sicut] sic.—11. quattuor] quatuor.—12. διαφωνίαν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est discordia.—16. temptaverunt] contractauerunt.—21. sepulcrum] sepulchrum.—23. ventum] *om.*—25. Quarto decimo] quartodecimo.—26. movente] monente.—Patmos] pathumos.—27. scripsit Apocalypsin] apocalipsim scripsit.—interpretantur] interpretatur.—Irenaeus] hyreneus.—29. Nerva] *add.* pertinace.—30. Asiae] *add.* partes.—31. et *post* senio] *om.*

P. 14, 2. Hermas] Herman.—3. Salutate] *corr. ex* salutante.—Phlegontam] flegunta.—Patroban] patrobam.—4. sunt cum eis] cum eis sunt.—auctorem] auctoritatem.—5. legitur] *add.* Igitur.—6. usurpavere testimonia] usurpauerunt testimonium.—10. idcirco] Id circo.—11. evangelistae] *add.* conuersione.—Alexandriam] alexandrinam.—ecclesia] ecclesiam.—12. eos ibi] eo sibi.—14. Christo] *om.*—15. esse imitantur et cupiunt] imitantur et cupiunt esse.—17. egentibus] gentibus.—18. psalmis] spiritualis.—19. credentes] *add.* sed habitu et carnis abstinencia differentes.—20. Caio Caligula] gaio calicula.—quo] quod.—21. erat] fuerat.—23. etiam] et iam.—24. suis] *om.*—26. libros] libris.—27. detestamur] testamur.



P. 15, 2. gigantibus] gygantibus. — 3. Exodum] exodo. — 4. decalogo] de calogo. — necnon] nec non. — 5. providentia] prudentia. — De conversatione] de de conuersione. — 7. habeant] *add.* animalia. — 8. liber] librum. — supra diximus] supradiximus *et passim*. — 9. inscripsit] scripsit. — Περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἱκετῶν] peribui theoretici hicetor, theoreti *et* grecus *in marg.* — ἱκετῶν] *add.* de uita contemplatiuorum morum; *litt.* mo *postea add.*; *ras.* *inter litt.* mo *et* rum. — quod] quo. — 12. De hoc] *om.* — vulgo] *litt.* o *in ras.* — 13. ἡ Πλάτων φιλονίζει ἡ Φίλων πλατωνίζει] eplaton filonizi id est filoniplato, grecus *in marg.* — 14. sequitur] secutus. — Platonem Philon] filo platonem. — 17. Lucius] Lutius. — 19. catalogo] cathalogo. — 23. inter] in. — 27. Matthiae] mathathie. — 28. Tito filio eius] filio eius tyto, *voce eius supra add.* — 30. bibliothecae] bibliotece.

P. 16, 2. Antiquitatum libros] libros antiquitatum. — 3. Ἀρχαιοτήτος] artheothicas primos sacerdotes. — adversum] aduersus. — 4. Appionem] oppinionem. — grammaticum] gramaticum. — sub] *corr.* *ex sunt.* — Caligula] calicula. — 6. vituperationem] uituperationum. — scripserat] *add.* Scripsit. — 7. Περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ] periantro ratoslogiscos. — 8. Macchabaeorum] machabeorum. — 10. octavo decimo] octauo decimo. — 13. dirutam] diruptam. — 14. in] *om.* — Eodem tempore] *om.* — 15. si tamen] sitamen. — 16. patrator operum] operum patrator. — 18. Christus] christum. — 19. adfixisset] addixit. — 20. primum] primo. — dilexerant] dilexerunt. — perseverarunt] perseuerauerunt. — enim eis] eis enim. — 21. et *pro* haec] *om.* — 25. Tiberiensis] tyberiensis. — Galileae] galilea. — 27. de Scripturis] descripsit. — mendacii] mendatii. — 28. eodem] eo. — 30. Paulus] *om.*

P. 17, 2. Anencletus] anacletus. — tametsi] tam et si. — 4. Scripsit] scribit. — 6. characteri] characteri *corr.* *ex* caraceteri. — 11. conscripta] conscripto. — 15. exstructa] extructa. — 17. Ignátius] Ygnatius. — Antiochenae] anthiochene *corr.* *ex* anthiocene. — 19. navigans] *add.* *et.* — Smyrnam] smirinam *et passim*. — 20. Polycarpus] policarpus *et passim*. — 22. Trallenses] coloscensces. — et] *corr.* *ex* et et. — 23. Philadelphenos] philadelphos. — Smyrnaeos] smirinos. — 26. et] *om.* — 32. ponere] grecus *in marg.*

P. 18, 1. De] *om.* — usque] *add.* ad. — 4. autem eorum] eorum autem. — non] *add.* peiores fiunt. Iniquitas eorum autem mea doctrina est sed non. — 5. quas] *om.* — 6. mihi esse] inesse. — adliciam]



allitiam. — 7. sicut] *add. et.* — 8. Quodsi venire noluerint] cum uoluerint. — 12. divisio] diuissio. — contritio] contortio. — 14. Furmentum] furmentum. — 15. ut] *et.* — 18. Antiochia] anthiochia *et saepe.* — Daphniticam] dampniticam. — 23. paschae] pasce. — 24. Antonino] antonio *et saepissime.* — 25. Amiceto] anacleto. — 28. regnante] regante. — 29. Lucio] lutio. — Commodo] comodo *et passim.* — 31. amphitheatro] amphiteatro. — adversus] aduersum.

P. 19, 1. Philippenses] philipenses. — in Asiae conventu] asie in conuentu. — 4. Hierapolitanus] ieropolitanus. — in Asia] asie. — 6. praefatione] prefatione. — 7. ait] inquit. — 10. alius] alii. — Aristion] ariston. — 11. loquebantur] loquantur. — tantum mihi libri] mihi libri tantum. — 13. auctoribus] autoribus *corr. ex auctoribus.* — catalogo] cathalogo id est ordine, grecus *in marg.* — 15. Aristionem] aristonem. — 16. qua] que. — 17. rettulimus] retulimus. — 19. δευτέρῳσιν] *om., grecus in marg.; add. id est heresim.* — Irenaeus] hyreneus. — Apollinaris] appollinaris. — 20. resurrectionem] *add. domini.* — 21. Spe] *litt. pe in ras.* — 22. Petavionensis] pectarionensis. — hac opinione] in hanc opinionem. — ducuntur] deducuntur. — 27. terrore] terrorem. — 28. Hadrianus] adrianus *et passim.* — exegisset] exsset *corr. ex exisset.* — hiemem] hieme. — 29. Graeciae] grecis. — initiatus] incitatus. — dedisset] dedit. — 30. Christianos] christum.

P. 20, 3. aetatis] actionis. — 4. in Iudaea] inuidia. — 5. oppressi] oppressi. — sanati] sancti. — 11. id est, Apologeticum] apologeticon id est responsum. — 12. perseverans] perseuerat. — philologos] philosophos. — indicium] inditium. — 14. Agrippa] *corr. ex Agrippa.* — 16. confecerat] confecerant. — 17. et pro prophetas] *om.* — Barcaban] barthabani. — Barcob] barcobeche. — et pro ad] *om.* — 21. Moratus] Mortuus. — Gnostici] nostici. — 25. Hegesippus] Egisippus. — apostolicorum] apostolorum. — 27. hinc inde] hincinde. — 29. vitam] uita. — charactera] characteras.

P. 21, 1. venisse] *corr. ex inuenisse.* — 2. Eleutherium] heleuterium. — 3. Aniceti] anyceti. — 4. idola] ydola. — quo] quod. — 5. qua pro ostendit] quo. — 6. mortuis] *ras. in marg.* — templa] *in ras.* — 7. est] *add. et.* — 8. ἀγών] agon id est certamen nudorum certantium. — civitatemque] ciuitatem que. — 9. Antinoum] *corr. ex antionum.* — 13. Prisco Bacchio] brisco bachio. — 15. Pio] principi. — 16. erubesceret] erubescere. — 17. Antonini] antonino. —

19. daemonum] demonium. — 20. Ἐλεγχος] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est electio. — aliud] alius. — 21. Dei] *om.* — Ψάλτην] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est cantorem. — 22. dialogus] dialogus. — Tryphonem] triphonem. — 23. Iudaeorum] *ras. post hanc vocem.* — sed] *postea add.* — Marcionem] martionem. — insignia] insigni. — 24. Irenaeus] hyreneus. — 27. διατριβάς] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est conuersationes. — 28. blasphemabat] blasphemabant. — 30. accusatus] accusatio.

P. 22, 5. subiecimus] subiciemus. — pascha] pasca. — duo] duos. — 6. De ecclesia librum unum, De die dominica librum unum, De fide librum unum] *om.* — 7. plasi] phasi. — De sensibus librum unum] *om.* — 9. De veritate librum unum] *om.* — 10. φιλοξενία] philosomia. — 11. inscribitur] scribitur. — 12. diabolo] diaboli. — Apocalypsi] apocalipsi. — καὶ τὸν Περὶ ἐνσωμάτου θεοῦ] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est de incorporatione. — 13. Eclogarum libros] eglogarum libri. — 18. Antiochenae] anthiochene *et passim.* — 20. Ad] *om.* — Autolycum] auctolicum. — 21. liber unus] librum unum. — 25. φράσει] prasin. — 27. Apollinaris] Appollinaris. — Asiae Hierapolitanus] asye hyeropolitanus.

P. 23, 1. libri] libros. — duo] duos. — Adversum Cataphrygas] aduersus chathaphrigas. — 4. Dionysius] Dionisius. — Corinthiorum] corinthiorum. — 8. Nicomedienses] nichomedienses. — 10. Pinytum] pinitum. — septima] *add.* et. — 11. Soterem] sotherem. — Chrysophoram] crisophoram. — 16. Pinytus] pinitus. — 17. Dionysium] dionysium. — Corinthiorum] corinthiorum. — 18. enutriendos] nutriendos. — 20. spiritalem] spiritualement. — proficiant] proficiat. — 21. Antonino] *add.* uero. — et *post* Antonino] *add.* lucio. — 23. primum] primus. — 24. arte rhetorica] parte heretica. — 26. Postea] posta. — haeresin] heresim. — 27. Encratitarum] eutrachiarum. — 29. e] Ex.

P. 24, 5. Dionysius] dyonisius *et saepe.* — 6. Adversus] aduersum. — 12. Encratitarum] eucraticarum. — 15. Antonino] *add.* uero. — 16. Adversum] aduersus. — 17. συντάγματα] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est conscriptiones. — 18. ψευδεπίγραφα] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est false supscriptiones. — 20. Bardesanes] Bardasenes. — 22. a Syris] asyriis. — 23. adversus] aduersum. — 25. Antonino] *add.* uero. — fato] facto. — 26. volumina] uoluminum. — 27. verterunt] uerterunt. — et fulgor] *om.*

P. 25, 2. tertius decimus] decimustercius.—3. quaestione] *in ras.*—6. Irenaeus] Hireneus.—Photini] fothini.—9. Eleutherum] eleutherium.—perfert] refert.—10. Photino] fothino.—15. et *pro* Ad] *om.*—16. Librum] libros.—17. Blastum] blaschum.—schismate] scismate.—Florinum] florium.—18. σύνταγμα] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est compositionum.—20. subscripsit] scribit.—21. Iesum] yesum.—22. quo] qui.—23. ad exemplar] de exemplari.—transcripsisti] scripsisti.—25. invenisti] inuenis.—eius] *om.*—26. epistulas] epistolae.—27. collegii] colegii.—28. Si quidem] Siquidem.—29. quarta decima luna] xiiiiam lunam.—celebrabant] celebrant.—30. hi] hii.

P. 26, 2. imperio] *add.* suo.—successerat] cesserat.—4. Pantaeus] Panthenus.—5. Alexandria] alexandriam.—6. eruditionis] erudicionis.—7. in Indiam] inuidiam.—8. ab illius] obillius.—legatis] legatus.—9. repperit] reperit.—10. Domini] *add.* nostri.—Iesu] *add.* christi.—11. Hebraicis] hebreis.—revertens] *add.* ad.—12. detulit] de.—13. commentarii] comentarii *et saepe.*—17. Rhodon] Bodon.—18. praecipuumque] que *supra add.*—[Adversus] aduersum.—20. Marcionitae] marcioniste.—Apellen] appellent.—senem] semen.—a se] esse.—21. conventum] commentum.—risui] risu.—habitum] habitu.—23. Callitionem] calistiom.—auditorem] adiutorem.—24. et *post* Sed] *om.*—Hexameron] exameron *et passim.*—25. Phrygas] phrogas.—27. Pantaeni] pantheni.—28. rettulimus] retulimus.—ecclesiasticam scholam] ecclesiam stolam.—29. et κατηχήσεων] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est catechiseum.—30. insignia] insigna.—atque] et.

P. 27, 2. Στρώματεις] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* et id est informationum.—Ὑποτυπώσεις libri viii] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* et.—4. disceptatio] disputatio.—5. inscribitur] scribitur.—Quisnam] Quisnam.—6. liber unus] librum unum.—ecclesiasticis] *in ras.*—7. sequuntur] secuntur.—liber unus] librum unum.—8. προσεφώνησεν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est alocutus est.—9. adversum] aduersus.—10. χρονογραφίας] chionographie.—11. non] *om.*—Nec non] Necnon et (et *supra add.*)—Aristobulum] aristobolum.—12. et *post* quendam] *om.*—et *post* Demetrium] *supra add.*—Eupoleum] eupoleum.—adversum] aduersus.—13. ἀρχαιολογίαν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est geneologiam.—14. adseruerint] adseuerent.—15. Alex-



andri] alexander. — Narcisso] maximo. — 17. congratulantis] congratulantes. — 18. domini] *om.* — 22. Origenem] originem. — 25. Miltiades] Milciades. — Rhodon] rhodum *corr. ex* rodum. — adversum] aduersus. — 27. Iudaeosque] iudeos. — 31. Adversum] aduersus. — 33. insanas] insanos.

P. 28, 1. accepisse] accipisse. — 2. accipiunt] accipiant. — 3. Sed] *add.* et. — 4. crinem] crineus. — 5. vestibus] *om.* — gemmis prophetes] gemis. propheta. — 6. tesseris propheta? fenus] tesseris|propheta fenus. — 7. liceat] licet. — in] *supra add.* — 9. et ipse] *corr. ex* ipse et. — κατὰ Φρύγας] cathaphrigas. — 10. adversum] aduersus. — 11. ἐκστάσει] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est de excessu. — Adversum] *litt. a in ras.* — 16. Serapion] Sarapion. — 17. Caricum] carinnam. — Pontium] pontum. — 18. addidit] addit. — falsi] falsum. — 19. id est] grecus *in marg.* — 20. beatissimi] beati. — qui fuit in] anani. — 21. Hierapoli Asiae] yeropoli asye. — Domnum] dominum. — 23. alium] aliud. — 24. Rhosensem] rosonem. — 26. ἀσκήσει] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est meditatione. — et] ut. — 29. inpetrato] inpetratori *litt. ri in ras.* — ut] *in ras.*

P. 29, 1. nihilo minus] nihilominus. — 2. veteri] Vetere. — 3. iudicium] iuditium. — pertracti] *add.* sunt. — 11. Bacchylus] Bachillus. — Corinthi] corrinthi. — 12. omnium] omni. — Achaia] achaya. — 15. Polycrates] Policrates. — 16. Asiae] asye. — 17. luna cum Iudaeis] cum iudeis luna. — celebrabant] celebrant. — 18. synodicam] *om.* — 19. apostoli Iohannis] iohanis apostoli. — 21. neque deminuentes] nec diminuentes. — Etenim] et enim. — Asia] asya. — elementa] elimenta. — 24. Philippum] philippii *corr. ex* philippum. — 25. Hierapoli] ieropoli. — 26. eius filiam] filiam eius. — 27. recubuit] discubuit. — 29. Smyrnae cubat. Thraseas quoque, episcopus et martyr] *om.* — 30. Eumenia] simenia. — 31. Sagaris] sargaris.

P. 30, 1. Laodicea] alexandria. — Papyri] papiri. — 2. Melitonis] militonis. — Sancto Spiritu] spiritu sancto. — repleti et propter regnum caelorum] *om.* — 3. Domino] deo. — 4. exspectat] expectat. — resurrectionem] resurectionem. — Hi] Hii. — 5. ab evangelica traditione] ad euangelicam traditione. — 6. nullam] ullam. — 7. Polycrates] polycrates. — 10. Azyma faciebat] azimam faciebant. — 11. sexaginta quinque] LXX. — 12. orbe] urbe. — 13. omni] omnis. — 14. magis Deo oportet] oportet magis deo. — 15. posui] proposui. — 17. Floruit]



Floruisse. — 20. Severique] seueri quo imperio.<sup>1</sup> — 23. iisdem] isdem. — 24. facta a Deo] a deo facta. — 27. supra scriptis] suprascriptis. — pulcherrimos] pulcherimos. — 30. Appion] Apion.

P. 31, 5. Arabianus] Arbianus. — 8. Daniel] *add.* de. — hebdomadibus] ebdomadibus. — 9. et *χρονολογίαν*] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* ex christi id est historiam. — 15. demum] denuum. — 16. Africae] affrice *et passim*. — 17. Carthaginiensis] carthaginensis. — 20. praetermittimus] praeter mittimus. — 21. oppidum] opido. — Cypriani] cipriani *et passim*. — 22. Romae vidisse] romam uidisset. — 23. referretque] refertque. — 26. invidia] inuidie.

P. 32, 2. pudicitia] pudititia. — 3. exstasi] extasi. — 5. usque] *corr.* *ex* usque usque. — 6. edidisse] condidisse. — 8. et] *om.* — 11. relinquitur] relinquitur. — rem] *corr.* *ex* re. — 12. occupaverat] *corr.* *ex* occupauit. — 14. *κατηχήσεων*] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est catheseum. — 16. iam mediae] medie iam. — 17. plurimis] *corr.* *ex* pluris. — 18. a Theoctisto] atheoctisco. — 19. Caesareae] cesare. — Hierosolymorum] ierosolimitarum. — 20. adversus] aduersum. — 21. debacchatus] debachatus. — 22. scriberet] *add.* et. — 23. Zepherino] zephirino. — reuersum] reuersus. — 24. Heraclam] heradam. — 25. adiutorem] adiuctorem. — *κατηχήσεων*] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est cathethiseum. — qui quidem] quicquid. — et] *supra add.* — post Demetrium] potest demetrius. — 28. Caesareae] cesarianus. — 29. Palaestinam] *litt.* *ā in ras.* — 31. Mammaeam] manimeam. — 33. est] *om.* — Philippum] philipum. — primus] primum; *add.* *in marg.* primus rex christianus. — 36. Scripturis Sanctis] scriptura sancta.

P. 33, 1. edisceret] *litt.* *e init. in ras.* — 2. alios] alias.<sup>2</sup> — 3. proselyti] proseliti. — Theodotionis] theadotionis. — Symmachi] simachi. — 4. in] *om.* — *κατὰ Ματθαῖον*] catha matheum. — 5. et] *om.* — 6. Praeterea] *add.* et. — 7. etiam] et. — miro] summo. — 8. comparavit] *om.* — 9. Et quia] qua. — eius] *om.* — 10. Paulam] paulum. — quadam] qua darii. — Varronis] barionis. — 11. inmortali] immortalitatis. — eius] eius eius. — 12. dialecticam] dyalecticam. — 13. arithmeticam] arismetricam. — grammaticam] gramaticam. — rhetoricam] rethoricam. — 15. interpretaretur] interpretareretur. — cottidie] cotidie. — 16. ille]

<sup>1</sup> *Imperio* Richardsonius per errorem omisit.

<sup>2</sup> *Alios* pro *alias* Richardsonius perperam scripsit.

illi.—recipiebat] *corr. ex* recipiebant.—17. occasione] occasione.<sup>1</sup>—  
institueret] instrueret.—18. adversum] aduersus.—19. religionem]  
religione.—20. desaeviret] deseruiret.—21. Fabianus, Romanae  
ecclesiae episcopus] episcopus fabianus romane ecclesie.—ipsa] ipso.  
—22. Babyas] babilas.—23. si quis] qui.—24. scire] scientie.—  
27. Origene] origine.—sex] ex.—35. monumenta] monimenta.

P. 34, 1. Evangelicos] euangelicos.—3. Porphyrius] porphirius *corr.*  
*ex* prophirius.—ethnicus] et hinnitus.—constet] constat.—6. dein]  
de hinc.—7. gloria] glorie.—8. Protheoctisto] proteotisco.—9. in-  
dustria] industeria.—adhuc] ad hunc.—10. Origenes] origenis.—  
11. inelegantis] in elegantis.—14. locuples] locuplex.—15. moriens]  
*om.*—17. Tryphon] Trifon.—eius] *supra add.*—18. quidem] qui-  
dam.—20. rufa] ruffa.—Deuteronomio] de utonomio.—dichoto-  
mematibus] dihotematibus.—21. ab Abraham] habeantur.—23.  
Minucius] Minutius.—24. Octavius] octauus.—inscribitur] scribitur.  
—26. diserti] disertus.—27. superioris libri] superioribus libris.—  
Minucii] minutii.—28. Lactantius] lactancius.—30. Gaius] Maius.  
—Zephyrino] zephirino.—id est] *supra add.*

P. 35, 2. nova] nona.—3. quartam decimam] quartamdecimam.—  
5. habetur] habentur.—7. Beryllus] Berillus.—Arabs Bostrenus]  
arabioštrenus.—9. quae] qua.—correctus] corretus.—10. Origeni]  
origenem.—12. Berylli] berilli.—haereseos] hereses.—arguitur] co-  
arguuntur.—13. Mammeae] manimee.—14. ei] *om.*—16. Hippo-  
lytus] Ypolitus.—ecclesiae] *om.*—quippe] quidem.—canone quae]  
canonemque.—19. ἐκκαίδεκαετηρίδα] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*—21.  
ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρίδα] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* grece.—22. in Scrip-  
turas] scripturarum.—23. Hexameron] *add.* et.—Exodum] *add.* et.  
—Canticorum] *add.* et.—24. Genesim] *add.* et.—Psalmis] *add.*  
et.—Esaia] ysaia.—Daniele] daniel.—25. Apocalypsi] apocalipsi.  
—Ecclesiaste] ecclesiasticis.—Pytonissa] phitonissa.—26. Adversus]  
aduersum.—27. et Προσομίλιαν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est et  
de similibus.—laude] laudibus.

P. 36, 2. eorumque] que *postea add.*; *ras. post vocem* eorum.—et]  
his.—quodque] et quod.—his maius est] *corr. ex* maius est his.—3.  
cottidie] cotidie.—4. ἐργοδιώκτην] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* secutorem

<sup>1</sup> *Occassione* apud Richardsonium corrigendum est.

operum.—6. desiderio] ob desiderium.—7. Narcissus] narcisus.—8. senex] senes.—et *pro* Narcisso] *om.*—10. re ita completa] rem completam.—11. fuerat] fuerant.—Palaestinae] palestino.—13. Hierosolymitanae] ierosolimitane.—14. scribit] scripsit.—Antinoitas] antonitas ita.—pace] pacem.—15. qui] *om.*—17. natus] *om.*—18. unum] unumque.—19. nec non] Necnon.—20. et *pro* Ad] *om.*—21. Demetrii eum] demetrium.—22. ad diversos] aduersos.—23. Babyas] babillas.—27. Africanus] affricanus.—28. Aurelio] *add.* comodo.—29. urbis] *litt. s supra add.*—Emmaus] emaus.—30. est] *corr. ex* estim.—31. Susannae] susane.—Hebraico] hebreo.

P. 37, 1. etymologia] deriuatione, hebraye *in marg.*—ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίνου πρίσαι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίνου σχίσαι] *om.*—4. διαφωνία] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est discordantia.—genealogia] geonologia.—5. Lucam] lucham.—8. florens] Floruit.—9. Zebenno] zebeno.—Heraclas] eraclas.—12. Neocaesareae] incesaree.—14. Berytum] byritum.—15. Athenodoro] anthenodoro.—17. subintroducens] sub introducens.—20. Panegyricum] panegiricum.—εὐχαριστίας] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est eucharistie.—21. qui usque] quisque.—22. Μετάφρασιν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est translationem.—Ecclesiastis] ecclesiastes.—28. Fabium] flauianum.—29. Romana] romane ecclesie.—Italica] ytalice.—Africana] affricane.

P. 38, 2. Fabium] flauianum.—3. haereseos] heresis.—causas] causa.—et] *om.*—4. cui] *om.*—7. Afer] affer *et passim.*—rhetoricam] rethoricam.—exinde] ex inde *ras. pro voce* ex.—10. adlectus] electus.—presbyterium] presbyterum.—11. Carthaginiensis] carthaginensis.—ingenii] ingenium.—12. sint] sunt.—14. eodem] edem.—18. exsilium] exilium.—sustinens] substinens.—21. Dionysius] Dionisius.—Heracla] herada.—scholam] scolam.—22. κατηχήσεων] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est cathetiseum.—Origenis] *add.* uel.—23. Africanae] affricani.—26. scripsit] scribit.—27. Hippolytum] ypolitum.—Sixtum] xistum.—29. et] *om.*—Dionysium] dyonisium *in marg.*—30. Romae] romanum.

P. 39, 1. esset] est.—3. ordinatus] *in marg.*—volens] nolens.—4. et *pro* Ad] *om.*—et *pro* Didymum] *add.* ad.—Didymum] didimum.—et ἑορταστικά] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est festiue.—5. plurimae] plurimum est.—6. exsilio] exilio.—Hieracam] heradam.—7. alia] aliam.—Περὶ γυμνασίου] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est de



certamine. — Hermammonem] herammonem. — 9. Nepotem] nepotianum. — 10. adseverat] assereuerat. — Apocalypsi] apocalipsim. — 11. Sabellium] sabelium. — Ammonem] damonem. — Beronices] beronicis. — 12. Telesphorum] thelesphorum. — Euphranorem] eufratem. — 14. Cononi] canon. — Origenem] *add.* Item. — 15. de *pro* martyrio] *om.* — Armenios] armenos. — 16. Timotheum] thimotheum. — Euphranorem] eufratem. — 18. et] *om.* — 19. Adversum] aduersus. — Samosatenum] samositatum. — moreretur] moriretur. — 23. adversum] aduersus. — 24. conatus] *add.* est. — 25. καθαρῶν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est clarum. — 26. Cypriani] ciprianus. — 28. instantia] instantia. — Attalo] attelo. — 29. ἐπιτομήν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est breuiationem. — 31. aestimant] existimant.

P. 40, 2. Malchion] *add.* presbyter. — 3. rhetoricam] rethoricam. — Adversum] aduersus. — 4. Samosatenum] samositatum. — 5. Arthemonis] arthemonis. — instaurarat] instaurauerat. — notariis] necessariis. — 7. Dionysium] dionisium. — 8. et Alexandrinae] *om.* — 9. Aureliano] aurelio. — 11. Archelaus] Archilaus. — 12. Adversum] aduersus. — 18. Anatolius] Anatholius. — Laodiceae] laodycie. — 19. Caro] gaio. — arithmetica] arismetica. — 20. grammatica] gramatica et. — rhetorica] *om.* — dialectica] dyaletica. — 22. arithmeticae] arismetrice. — 28. Esaiam] ysaia. — Ezechiel] ezechielem.

P. 41, 1. Abacuc] abachuk. — Apocalypsim] apocalipsis. — 2. Adversum] aduersus. — 5. Caesariensis] cesariesis *corr. ex* cesariensis. — 6. tanto] tantam *corr. ex* tam causa. — bibliothecae] bibliotheca *corr. ex* bibliotece. — amore flagrauit ut maximam partem Origenis] *om.* — 7. descriperit] descripsit. — 8. hodie] *om.* — et] *om.* — 9. ἐξηγήσεων] *om.*; *add.* id est glosarum. — 10. tanto] tantum. — amplector] amplexor. — 11. Si] *corr. ex* sed. — laetitia] leticia. — 12. quanto magis] quantomagis. — 13. videntur] uidetur. — 16. Maximini] maximi. — 18. Diocletiano] dioclitiano. — 20. in tantam] intantum *litt. um in ras.* — 23. σκήσεως] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est certaminis.<sup>1</sup> — 24. dialecticae] dyaletice. — omne] omnem. — 25. Romae fuisse versatum] fuisse uersatum rome. — est] eius. — De] in. — 26. in pervigilio] super uigilia. — 29. Lucianus] Lutianus. — disertissimus] doctissimus. — 30. in] *om.*

<sup>1</sup> Litteram α in voce σκήσεως Richardsonius omisit.



P. 42, 1. Luciania] luciani. — 4. Maximini] maximi. — Helenopoli] heleonopolim. — Bithyniae] bithinie. — 6. Thmuis] thynus. — nobili] nobilis. — 8. habita] hebraica. — adversum] aduersus. — 13. Diocletiano] dioclitiano. — Siccae] siche. — 14. rhetoricam] rethoricam. — scripsitque] que *supra add.* — Adversum] aduersus. — 15. vulgo] *om.* — 17. Lactantius] lactancius. — Diocletiano] dioclitiano. — 18. Flavio] flabo. — grammatico] gramatico. — medicinalibus] medicina. — 19. versu] uerso. — rhetoricam] rethoricam. — 21. Symposium] symposium. — 22. Ὀδοιπορικόν] adocporicum. — 23. hexametris] exametris. — et] *add. in.* — 24. grammaticus] gramaticus. — et pulcherimum] pulcherimum. — 25. adversum] aduersus. — et Ἐπιτομήν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est breuiationem. — 26. ἀκεφάλῳ] *om.* — Ad] *om.* — 30. velformatione] uel formatione.<sup>1</sup>

P. 43, 2. in Gallia] *om.* — 5. divinae] diuino. — 7. Εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est euangelice probationes. — viginti] xxi. — Εὐαγγελικῆς προπαρασκευῆς] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est preparationis. — 8. libri *pro* quindecim] *supra add.* — Θεοφανείας] theophanias. — libri] libros. — 10. omnimoda historia] omnimodam hystoriam. — Ἐπιτομή] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est breuiationem. — διαφωνία] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est discordantia. — 11. Esaiam] ysaia. — Porphyrium] prophirium. — 12. Sicilia] *corr. ex* scicilia. — 13. et Τοπικῶν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est topicorum. — Ἀπολογίας] *om.*; *add.* id est responsionis, *litt. respō in ras.* — 14. libri tres] martiris libri iii *corr. ex* libri iii et martiris. — De Martyribus] *om.* — 15. eruditissimi commentarii] eruditissimos comen-tarios. — 17. Constantio] constancio *et saepe.* — 18. ab eo] *om.* — 20. Reticius] Retcius. — Augustodunensis] augustonensis. — 21. celeberrimae] celeberrime. — Gallia] *corr. ex* galia. — 22. Canticum] cantico. — aliud grande volumen] alia grandia uolumina. — 23. Adversum] aduersus. — 26. Methodius] Metodius. — Lyciae] licie. — 27. Adversum Porphyrium] aduersus prophirium. — 29. Pitonissa] phitonissa. — et *pro De*] *om.* — αὐτεξουσίῳ] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est de propria potestate.

P. 44, 1. lectitantur] *add. et.* — 2. sive] sue. — 3. Chalcide] cal-cide. — 5. Hispanus] hyspanus. — 6. hexametris] exametris. — 10.

<sup>1</sup> *Vel et formatione* apud Richardsonium disiungenda sunt.

Eustathius] Eustacius. — Pamphylus Sidetes] pamphilus edesse. — Beroeae] urbe. — 11. episcopus] *om.* — 12. Arianorum] arrianum. — Constantio] constantino. — 13. Traianopolim Thraciarum] trianopolim trachiarum. — 14. ἐγγαστριμύθῳ] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est de uentrali eloquio. — 15. adversum] aduersus. — 16. est] esset. — 18. Ancyranus] anchiranus. — 19. ὑποθέσεων] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est causarum. — 20. Arianos] arrianos *et passim.* — 21. libri] *om.* — haereseos] inhereseos. — 24. communione] comunione. — 25. urbis] urbibus. — pontificum] *add.* se esse munitum. — 27. multa] multis. — 29. rursus] rursum. — fugatus] *om.*

P. 45, 1. Ioviani] iouiniani. — 2. Adversum] aduersus. — 3. Ursacium] rufinum; alius ursicinum *in marg.* — unus] *add.* et. — virginitate] *add.* et. — 4. et *pro* historia] *add.* de. — 5. Antonii] anthonii. — vitam] uita. — ἑορταστικά] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est festiue. — 8. Antonius] Anthonius. — Alexandriae] alexandrine. — 9. Aegyptiacas] egiciapec. — 12. Arsenoitas] arasonatas. — 13. filiis] filio. — 15. Ancyranus] anchiranus. — medicinae] medice. — gnarus] *om.* — 17. Macedonianae] macedonie. — Eustathio] estacio. — 18. Sebasteno] sabastino. — 20. Heracleae] *add.* et. — Thraciarum] trachiarum. — elegantis] eleganti. — 21. historicae] stoice. — 25. rhetorici] rethorici. — 26. qui] quia. — plausum] plausus. — 28. e] *om.* — Adversum] aduersus. — gentes] grecos; alius gentes *in marg.*

P. 46, 1. Galatas] galathas. — libri] libros. — in] *om.* — homiliae] omelie. — 3. Floruit] *add.* autem. — 6. Triphylus] Triphilius. — Cypri] cipri. — Ledrensis] leodiensis. — 7. Constantio] constantino. — celeberrimus] celeberrimus. — 9. pervenerunt] peruenit. — 14. ethnicis] ethiniciis. — 15. sua persuasione] supersuasione. — 16. haeresim] *corr.* *ex* heresem. — 20. et *post* Romanos] *om.* — In *pro* Psalmos] *om.* — 24. Caralitanus] calaritanus; alius calaguritanus *in marg.* — Pancratio] pancracio. — 25. clericis] clericus. — Constantium] constantinum. — 28. constantiae] constancie. — praeparati animi] *corr.*; animi *supra add.*, cum *post* vocem praeparati *delet.* — 29. librum] libros. — legendum] legendo.

P. 47, 2. et] *om.* — lectore] pretoria. — 4. Scythopolim] schytopolim. — Iuliano imperatore] imperatore iuliano. — 9. Fortunatianus] Fortunacianus. — Aquileiensis] aquilegiensis. — 11. scripsit] conscripsit. — 12. Liberium] *litt.* iū *in ras.* — 13. ad subscriptionem] insub-

scriptionem. — 16. Acacius] Accatius. — μονόφθαλμον] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est monoculum. — nuncupabant] nuncupabat. — 17. in Palaestina] palestine. — 18. et Συμμίκτων ζητημάτων sex] *om.*; *add.* id est comixtorum questionum et. — 19. tantum] tanto. — 20. in] *om.* — locum] loco. — 21. constitueret] constituerat. — 23. Serapion] Sarapion. — Thmueus] thomneos. — ingenii] ingenti. — 24. cognomen] cognomine. — Scholastici] scolastici. — Antonii] anthonii. — 27. in] *om.* — 29. Pictaviorum] pictanorum. — Aquitanicae] aquitanie. — 30. Biterrensi] biterensi. — Phrygiam] frigiam.

P. 48, 1. relegatus] religatus. — Adversum] aduersus. — 2. et] *om.* — In Psalmos] insalmis. — 5. octavo decimo] octauodecimo. — 6. etiam] *add.* et. — 8. eius] *om.* — 9. Ursacium] ursatium. — Ariminensis] ariminensem. — Seleuciensis] seulicensis. — 10. et] *om.* — Sallustium] salustium. — 11. hymnorum] yprenorum. — mysteriorum] misteriorum. — 16. Mortuus est] Mortuusque. — 18. Romae] *in marg.* — 19. rhetoricam] rethoricam. — 20. dialectico] dyaletico. — 21. intelleguntur] intelliguntur. — 22. apostolum] *corr.* — 24. Bostrenus] boscenus. — Ioviano] iouiniano. — 25. Adversum] aduersus. — alia] *add.* et cetera. — 31. mortuus est] moritur.

P. 49, 2. Apollinaris] Apolinaris. — Laodicens] laodicensis. — 3. grammaticis] gramaticis. — 4. volumina] *om.* — 5. Porphyrium] prophirium. — 6. libri] libros. — probantur] *litt. ro in ras.* — 8. Baeticus] boeticus. — Eliberi] hyliber. — 10. superesse] subesse. — 12. Pacianus] Pacatianus. — Pyrenaei] pyreneis. — Barcelona] barzelone. — 14. Cervus] cerbis. — in kalendis Ianuariis et contra alios ludos paganicos] *om.* — 16. iam ultima senectute] ad ultimam senectutem. — 18. Photinus] Fotinus. — Sirmii] smirini. — 21. praecipua] precipui. — Ad Valentinianum] ualentiniani. — 24. Phoebadius] Pebadius. — Agenni] agennii. — 25. et alia] talia.

P. 50, 2. Didymus] Dydimus. — 3. sui] *om.* — 4. dialecticam] dyaleticam. — 5. plurima] plura. — nobiliaque] notabiliaque. — 7. Evangelium] euuangelio. — 8. librum unum] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est. — 9. Esaiam] ysaia. — tomos] thomos. — 10. commentariorum] comentarios. — Zachariam] zacheriam. — 11. meo rogatu] *om.* — et pro commentarios] *add.* in. — In] III. — infinita] multa. — 12. digerere proprii indicis est] a indicii proprii est diligere et. — 13. usque] *om.* — 16. ex parte catholica] *om.* — 17. Adversum] aduersus. — 18. calum-



niam] calumpniam.—21. Acilius] Achilius.—22. Lactantii] lactancii.—epistularum] epistole.—23. ὀδοιπορικόν] odyporicum.—totius] potius.—continens] constituens.—24. vocavit] uocant.—Καταστροφήν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est euersionem.—Πείραν] peram *uel* peran.—25. principe] *om.*—27. Hierosolymae] ierhosolime.—28. octo] vii.—inconcussum] in concussum.—29. Κατηχήσεις] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est cathethisis.

P. 51, 2. Euzoius] Eurolus.—Thespesium] ephesum.—rhetorem] rethoricam docuit.—Nazianzeno] nazanzeno.—3. est] *om.*—4. urbis] *om.*—5. membranis] membraniis.—instaurare] instauratur.—7. nosse] scire.—9. Epiphanius] Epyphanius.—Adversum] aduersus.—11. simplicioribus] symplicioribus.—12. et] *om.*—extrema iam senectute] extremam senectutem.—14. Edessenae] edescene.—diaconus] dyaconus.—18. Syriaca] syrica.—verterat] uerterant.—22. Mazaca] machata.—23. egregios] egregius.—24. volumen] uolumine.—homilias] omelias.—et Ἀσκητικόν] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est heremiticum.—25. tractatus] *ras. post hanc vocem.*—28. Nazianzenus] nazanzenus.—29. et] *ex.*

P. 52, 2. Caesarii] cesaris.—Περὶ φιλοπρωχίας] *om.*, grecus *in marg.*; *add.* id est de diligentia laborum.—4. quidam] *litt. ā in ras.*—5. quia] qui.—et] *om.*—vituperationem] uituperationum.—7. hexametro] exametro.—versu] uersi.—8. Adversum] aduersus.—9. Iulianum] milianum.—10. Polemonium] polemionem.—χαρακτήρα] caractere.—11. vitam monachi] monachi uitam.—12. hoc] hec.—triennium] triennio.—16. et pulsus est] expulso.—17. sollemnes] solemnes.—18. ὑποθέσεων] *om.*; *add.* id est causarum.—20. Diodorus] Dyiodorus.—22. Eusebii] eusebium.—characterem] caracterem.—23. cum sensum] consensus.—26. Cyzicenus] cizienus.—27. blasphemiam] blasphemia.—ut] *et.*—28. fateretur] fatetur.—29. Apollinarius] apollinaris.—30. Didymus] didimus.—Nazianzenus] nazanzenus.—Nyssenus] myseus.

P. 53, 2. Priscillianus] Priscilianus.—Abilae] cibile.—Hydatii] ydaci.—3. Ithacii] ythaci.—Treveris] tyberii.—4. ad nos aliqua] aliqua ad nos.—5. Gnosticae] grecus *in marg.*—Irenaeus] yreneus.—6. haere-seos] heresis.—9. Hispaniae] hispanie.—10. comparandus] comperandus.—est] *om.*—Treveris] triberis.—11. et] *om.*—Euchrotia] euchorcia.—isdem] hiisdem.—14. Baeticus] boethicus.—suspicionem]



suspitione. — Prisciliano] prisciliano. — 17. Sanctam Scripturam] sancta scriptura. — 21. scribit] scripsit. — superest] super est. — 25. Euagrius] Euagarius. — praestantis] presentis. — 26. adhuc] ad huc. — ὑποθέσεων] ypoteseon. — 27. quos] quod. — necdum] *add.* mihi. — Graeco] *add.* et.

P. 54, 2. auditor Didymi] didimi auditor. — 4. quodam] quoddam. — narrante] narante. — perlatum] perlectum. — 5. superest] super est. — 8. adversum] aduersus. — 11. Nyssenus] misenus. — 12. Nazianzeno] nazanzeno. — 13. et alia] talia. — 15. Antiochenae] antiochie. — 16. Περὶ ἱερωσύνης] peryperissimos. — 19. Caesareae] cesare. — Euzoium] eunomium. — 20. celare] clare. — 22. Theotimus] Theotinus. — Scythiae Tomorum] cytiethomorum. — 23. commaticosque] comen-tariosque.

P. 55, 2. supra dixi] supradiximus. — 6. Amphilochius] Amphilotius. — 7. quod adorandus] quodadoramus. — quodque] quoque. — 10. Sophronius] Sofronius. — Bethlehem] bethelem. — adhuc] ad huc. — 11. Serapis] sarapi. — 17. Hieronymus] Ieronimus. — oppido] opido. — 18. eversum] euersus. — Pannoniaeque] panonieque. — 19. annum] *litt. m in ras.* — 21. Heliodorum] eliodorum. — exhortatorium] exorta-torium. — Altercationem] altercationum. — 22. Orthodoxi] *add.* id est, grecus *in marg.* — Ieremiam] hieremiam. — 23. et] in. — homilias] omelias. — 24. Seraphim] seraphin. — Osanna] osana. — filiis] filio. — 25. Homilias] omelia. — 26. Helvidium] eluidium. — 28. Consolatorium] consolatorium. — epistulam] epistola. — 29. Galatas] galathas. — epistulam] epistola. — 30. epistulam] epistola. — 31. epistulam] epis-tola. — Philemonem] philonem. — 32. Ecclsiasteen] ecclesiasten.<sup>1</sup> — 33. De locis librum unum] *om.* — Hebraicorum] hebraicarum.

P. 56, 1. unum] *add.* et. — Didymi] didimi. — 2. Lucam] lucha. — homilias] omelias. — triginta novem] xxxviii. — 3. In] *om.* — sextum decimum] sextumdecimum. — 4. Captivum Monachum] captiui mona-chi. — Vitam] uita et. — Hilarionis] hylarionis. — 5. Graecae] greci. — Hebraicum] hebraicam. — 6. autem] *om.* — cottidie] quotidie. — 7. Scripsi praeterea] Preterea scripsi. — Micheam] michea. — 8. Abacuc] habachuc. — 9. Aggaeum] ageum. — *fin.*] Finis.

<sup>1</sup> Vocem *Ecclesiasten* Richardsonius perperam scripsit.



## THE DRAMATIC ART OF SOPHOCLES

BY CHANDLER RATHFON POST

### I

IF the discordant band of literary scholars were confronted with the simple question, what is the most distinctive quality of Sophocles as a dramatist, the answer would be for once universal and unhesitating—his stress upon delineation of character. This aspect of his production so stares one in the face that it cannot escape even the most perversely astute and subtle critic. He perfected, as Christ says, the *Charaktertragödie*; <sup>1</sup> and many other peculiarities of his dramatic manner may be traced more or less directly to this, his chief propensity. The play, according to his conception, is a mode of holding up the mirror to human nature, and from this conception as a center emanate his other ideas of the drama. He constructs a whole tragedy with almost the single purpose of such delineation in view.

With Aeschylus, characterization is not the determinative factor. His first concerns are well-nigh mathematical precision in the architecture of the plot, imaginative diction, the impressions of awe and grandeur, religious problems, and the like; and he constructs a tragedy with the purpose of exhibiting these qualities. He outlines his personages only so far as is required for the development of the action. I would not give the impression that he is not a master in the drawing of character; on the contrary, he seems to me supreme in this art and moreover consciously to exercise it. But though he himself has a well-defined plastic conception of even the most insignificant of his creatures, he will never model the action merely in order to bring one of them into high relief. Engrossed with the plot, diction, and ethical problems, and building the drama so as to lend prominence to these elements, he stops over characterization only that he may give his personages reason-

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<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm von Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, fünfte Auflage*, Munich, 1908, p. 303.

able motives for their actions. To take as an example the opportunity for comparison that most readily offers itself, the treatment of the Electra myth by both dramatists, Aeschylus in his *Choephoroi*, in order to endow the heroine with real existence, depicts her through the opening scenes as a timid, hesitating girl, the virginal ideal of the Greeks; but then, having once made her actually live before the spectators, he does not trouble himself further than to show that side of her personality which is essential to the progress of the story. Concretely, in order that she may inspire Orestes to the deed of vengeance and assist him in carrying to fruition his sanguinary plans, Aeschylus imbues her with such sisterly and filial devotion that even the shrinking maiden becomes capable of the most blood-curdling desires. The poet himself had a complete mental vision of her character in every phase and knew how she would demean herself under all circumstances, but he chooses to reveal only those aspects which suffice to change her from a puppet into a human being and which motivate the action. This he does, however, with a few masterly touches, and concentrates his energy upon other factors.

Sophocles assumes quite the opposite attitude, subordinating construction and other factors to characterization. He builds up his plot in such a way as to afford himself an opportunity for such study; and whereas in Aeschylus other forces coöperate with character to effect the dénouement, he produces the issue from the entanglement wholly through the qualities of his personages. He even alters and manipulates the mythical material so that he may the more readily and brilliantly practise his hobby. For the contrast with Aeschylus, we may return to the example of the *Electra*. Hitherto in the tale of the vengeance upon Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus, Orestes, the male heir, had been the principal figure. Sophocles at once realized that if he were to treat the subject in the traditional fashion he could not base his dénouement upon character, for the deed of Orestes was not purely an expression of his temperament but partly traceable to the direction of the Pythian oracle. Desiring a tragedy in which the chief personage should be actuated by no other force than the springs of character, he rearranged the myth so that Orestes should fade into the background and Electra, who was not influenced by the dictates of Apollo but by motives arising in her own personality, should become the protagonist. Where



it was necessary, furthermore, he changed and developed the whole story so as to serve his purpose, the delineation of her constancy. A brief analysis of the play from this standpoint will illustrate his ordinary structural method, which it is important to comprehend at the very beginning in order to approach intelligently the other elements of his technique.

All the opening section of the drama he consumes with impressing upon the audience Electra's devotion to her father's memory, showing her in the long parodos deaf to the attempts of the chorus at consolation and causing her in the succeeding dialogue to recount at length her own sorrows so that her fortitude may shine in relief against this darkness all the brighter. Creating, next, the figure of Chrysothemis and interrupting the movement for discussions between her and Electra, he emphasizes, by contrast, the heroic qualities of her sister. It is Electra that he represents as disputing with her mother the question of justice involved in the murder of Agamemnon, whereas Orestes would be the more natural antagonist of Clytaemnestra and had in the *Choe-phoroi*<sup>1</sup> cast in her face the same arguments that his sister now employs. Sophocles goes still further in his emphasis upon the rôle of Electra: he alters and elaborates the details of the brother's fictitious death that had been suggested by Aeschylus.<sup>2</sup> He transfers the scene of recognition until after the report of Orestes' mischance in order that her fixity of purpose may be still further tested by a belief in her brother's death and she may quite definitely become the principal figure by determining, when his arm fails, to perform the act of retribution herself.

But this transmutation of the myth has the additional purpose of giving prominence to another aspect of her temperament, the womanly. For Sophocles' personages are never simple. They are not, like the characters of Alfieri, allegorical embodiments of a single virtue or vice, but possess the natural complexity of human beings. Though Electra is almost virile in her steadfastness, she is yet as truly a woman, marked by the many intricate passions which the word implies. Despite her heroic devotion to the ideal of vengeance, Sophocles allows us to catch glimpses of those peculiarly feminine qualities which have given vogue

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<sup>1</sup> 908 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 673 ff.

to the term "the weaker sex." The vice of "suffragism" may not consider Electra as a prototype of that harsh perversion of nature, the "new woman," and assume her as its patron, for the dramatist takes pains to emphasize the softer and more delicate side of her character. At odd moments she falters just a bit, complaining that her brother is not accomplishing his promises; but her magnificent strength of will for the greater part of the time stands out all the more vividly by contrast, when she is seen to be adorned with the lighter graces of womanhood, the control over which she has not gained without a struggle. In resistance to such strain her will appears all the more like steel. Again, for an instant Sophocles deftly touches upon the gentler traits, when in argument with Clytaemnestra she herself declares that under different circumstances she might have led a lovelier life.<sup>1</sup> So, later in the play, the alteration by which he postpones the unmasking of the falsity of the tale about Orestes' death, so that her profound love for her brother expresses itself in anguished sorrow, serves to stress this more feminine aspect of her nature. Since Electra would become unreal, tedious, and provocative of no sympathy, if she were naught but a personification of vengeance, the poet feels that he must indicate still further these mitigating qualities. He therefore develops a hint of Aeschylus.<sup>2</sup> The urn that his predecessor had mentioned as containing the ashes of Orestes, Sophocles actually introduces upon the stage and places in her hands in order to bring her grief to a pitiful climax by a lament over what she supposes to be her brother's remains. Other brighter phases of her character are her gratitude to the Paedagogue for his faithfulness and the girlish enthusiasm and unselfishness that she manifests when almost her first thought after recognizing her brother is to turn to her friends and share her joy with them. The result of a failure to alleviate Electra's steadfastness of purpose is exhibited by Hofmannsthal in his adaptation of the Sophoclean drama. To the principal trait of an unquenchable thirst for revenge he adds only a kind of animal love for father and brother, with the consequence that she has the reality only of a paranoiac and as a matter of fact actually goes mad. Finally, since Electra has become the protagonist, Sophocles has to construct the drama so that she shall preserve her ascendancy

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<sup>1</sup> 616 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Choeph.* 686-687.

until the conclusion. Although, then, Orestes is the actual instrument of Clytaemnestra's assassination, she goads him on to strike again, and it is really she who compasses the destruction of Aegisthus by enticing him into the palace. To take a last instance, the whole recognition scene between Orestes and his sister rests upon this principle of play-building for the purpose of the analysis of character. It is the compassion of Sophocles' hero—a compassion which the monomaniac of Aeschylus, cruel to her at the very moment of recognition, does not possess—that leads him to disclose himself to Electra, although through fear he had not first purposed such a revelation until the accomplishment of his dire intent.

Since without a knowledge of this fundamental principle of Sophocles' construction his dramatic methods in general may not be understood, it is important to establish at the outset that in taking up any new material he thinks first of how he can manipulate it so as to indulge himself in a study of character. His attitude will become clearer by an examination of other plays. Before the great dramatists of the fifth century the story of Philoctetes had been treated with primitive simplicity in the cyclic epics, all probably of the eighth century B.C., the *Cypria*, the *Little Iliad*, and the *Iliupersis*. Philoctetes, prince of Malis, bitten by a snake at the shrine of the goddess Chryse, upon the small island of the same name, had been abandoned by the Greek host, as it sailed to Troy, on Lemnos, by reason of his incessant and ill-omened outcries of pain and the stench of his wound. After the predestined decade of hostilities, it is discovered by an oracle that Troy can be taken only through the double agency of Neoptolemus, the son of the dead Achilles, and of Philoctetes, using the magic arrows which Heracles had bequeathed to him. Diomed is therefore despatched to Lemnos and experiences no difficulty in inducing the stricken hero to accede to the Greeks' petition.

The lost plays of Aeschylus and Euripides upon this subject, which antedated that of Sophocles, we know by a few fragments but especially by the account of them given in the rhetorician, Dio Chrysostom, who in his fifty-second essay compares the different versions of the three tragic writers and in his fifty-ninth paraphrases freely the first two scenes of Euripides. It is easy to forget that Aeschylus, the real creator of Attic tragedy, first moulded the rambling myths into the



severe, plastic lines of the drama, so that the later dramatists, whatever alterations they made in the superstructures, were indebted to him for the broad foundations of their plays; it is easy to forget that without Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides are unimaginable. In the present instance he first manipulated the Philoctetes myth so as to render it capable of dramatic treatment. In order to create a conflict of wills, which is of the very essence of drama, he substituted for Diomed, who in the epics was the envoy to Philoctetes, Odysseus, who was the sufferer's bitterest enemy and, especially, had been instrumental in deserting him at Lemnos. Though we are informed of certain other factors in the Aeschylean version, a discussion of which may be postponed,<sup>1</sup> it is not known just where in the play the struggle between Odysseus and Philoctetes occurred, nor just how the former succeeded in his mission; but it is sufficient for our purpose to note that Aeschylus first discerned the dramatic possibilities which his successors utilized.

For the present it is necessary to observe in the Euripidean play, which was produced along with the *Medea* in 431, only those details which bear a relation to Sophocles' constructive method. In general it may be said that here, as in the versions of the Electra myth, Euripides followed more closely the Aeschylean prototype than did Sophocles. From Dio's description of the second scene it is clear that the bitterness of Philoctetes was not relieved by the lovelier qualities which in the Sophoclean drama appear at once and finally get the upper hand, for no sooner does he learn that Odysseus is a Greek, than he levels at him his dreadful bow. As far as our knowledge goes, then, the Philoctetes of Euripides would seem to have been merely an allegorical personification of resentment and consequently, to that extent, unreal; Sophocles realized this difficulty and gave his hero broader sympathies and a more human temperament. Nay, further, inasmuch as the whole tendency of Sophocles was to represent less violent and unnatural characters than Euripides, to endow them with more *σωφροσύνη* and thus to approximate them to the standard of the Periclean gentleman, he made even his Odysseus, as Dio remarks, *πολὺν πρότερον καὶ ἀπλούστερον*.<sup>2</sup> In this same scene, however, Euripides offered Sophocles a suggestion which he cleverly developed: Odysseus proceeds to win the confidence of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, pp. 109, 116.

<sup>2</sup> Dio, LII, 16.



Philoctetes by trumping up a tale that he himself, as a friend of the unjustly accused Palamedes, had been maltreated by the Greeks and so could sympathize with the fate of the Lemnian exile. The great invention of Euripides was the introduction of an embassy of Trojans seeking to win Philoctetes and his powerful arrows to their side. The purpose of such an invention is not far to seek: it afforded an unparalleled opportunity for one of those rhetorical debates which Euripides so loved, wherein the antagonists, Odysseus and the Trojans, would argue their respective causes with specious reasoning. It also intensified the situation by rendering it more urgent for Odysseus to succeed in his enterprise, for otherwise not only would he fail in obtaining the aid of Philoctetes but would actually incur the ignominy of having his arrows turned against the besieging host. Finally, before the study of the Sophoclean drama becomes possible, it is necessary to remember that the Philoctetes of Euripides appears to have been the kind of utterly woebegone beggar for which he was notorious, since Aristophanes in the *Acharnians* mentions his rags among those hanging in Euripides' closet when Dicaeopolis comes seeking for a costume.<sup>1</sup>

From these few data on the versions by Aeschylus and Euripides, one thing at least is evident — that the interest was centered upon the dénouement, the success of Odysseus' undertaking. But with Sophocles it was a foregone conclusion that the interest should be centered upon psychological analysis. In order to create for himself the possibility of such study, he made important additions and changes, the most radical among which was the introduction upon the scene of the youth Neoptolemus. What was the result of such an innovation? The summoning of Achilles' son, according to the epic tradition, had been a part of the scheme of Fate for the capture of Troy, but he had not as yet been brought into intimate relationship with Philoctetes. In the Sophoclean drama, Odysseus transports him to Lemnos and employs him as a cat's paw to entrap the languishing bowman. Following the hint of his predecessor, Sophocles represents the ingenuous Neoptolemus as persuaded against his will by Odysseus to entice Philoctetes on board his ship through the stratagem of a pretence that he is leaving the Hellenic camp in high dudgeon and through a false promise that he will carry him home. At the critical moment the better nature of Neoptolemus

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<sup>1</sup> *Ach.* 424.

reasserts itself, he divulges the trick, and restores the arrows which Philoctetes has entrusted to his keeping. Odysseus leaps forth from behind a rock where he has been lurking, and there occurs the required clash of conflicting personalities. Finally, resorting to the more humane mode of persuasion, Neoptolemus is already shaking the obstinacy of Philoctetes when Heracles appears and adds the seal of divine approval to the lad's pleading. The invention of the figure of Neoptolemus and such a treatment of his rôle transform the play into a study of character. In Sophocles, as I shall seek later to demonstrate, the protagonist is usually marked by an iron will focussed upon some definite object, as here Philoctetes is determined not to go to Troy; but were this single principal trait unrelieved, the hero would be no better than the automaton of Euripides. It is, then, to present a more comprehensive outlook upon the protagonist's character that the poet introduces Neoptolemus, contact with whose kind and noble disposition stimulates into action the lovelier and dormant qualities of Philoctetes, such as patriotism and a capacity for friendship. I have already pointed out in the *Electra* the devices to attain the similar end of alleviating the protagonist's fixity of purpose. A second reason for this innovation in the Philoctetes story is that Sophocles may study the personality of Neoptolemus himself, for he never rests content with the delineation of the leading person but labors as carefully upon the deuteragonist. To realize this one has only to think of such astounding creations as the Teucer of the *Ajax* or the Theseus of the *Oedipus Coloneus*; and the high minded but impulsive youth Neoptolemus, who is to literature what the ephebes of the Phidian frieze are to the representative arts, is one of the most attractive figures in the whole range of the drama. The painting of his gradual return to the upright path ranks among the greatest achievements of dramatic art. In the elaborate series of steps<sup>1</sup> by which Sophocles depicts him as moved to pity for Philoctetes and to compunction for his own treachery, one discerns the poet's own affection for his creation and the delight with which he delicately sketches his conversion. Throughout the play he develops, with the precision of a trained psychologist, the character of Philoctetes,

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<sup>1</sup> For the discussion of this element in the dramatic technique of Sophocles, cf. below, pp. 119-120.

who was especially difficult to treat consistently because of his pathological condition. He proceeds to change the mythical material in certain other respects in order to emphasize the qualities of his hero. For instance, whereas former versions had represented the island of Lemnos as inhabited, he conceives it as a deserted wilderness and takes pains to inculcate his alteration upon the minds of the audience by repetition.<sup>1</sup> The desire of Sophocles was to augment the sufferings of Philoctetes, to outdo Euripides on his own ground in the accumulation of woes upon the protagonist, so that victory over such obstacles might cast an even stronger light upon his inflexible will.

Not to multiply examples unnecessarily, I conclude the discussion of this division of the subject by choosing some typical instances from other plays. In the only known previous treatment of the Antigone story, that of Aeschylus at the end of the *Seven Against Thebes*, she is aided in the burial of Polynices by half the chorus; Sophocles, for the sake of emphasizing her strength of purpose, causes her alone to perform the deed of mercy, and for the same reason makes Ismene into a kind of foil for Antigone, endowing her with timidity as a contrast to the firmness of her sister. He then proceeds to develop the myth still further in order to prevent this strong-minded maiden from seeming unreal. He makes her, like Electra, truly a woman, although she always remains a heroic woman. She has a lofty devotion to the ideal of sisterly piety, but Sophocles gives us also glimpses of the eternal feminine in her love for Creon's son, Haemon, and in her regret for the joys of marriage. In the cyclic epics, as far as information exists, the contest of Ajax and Odysseus for the arms of Achilles had been decided against the former either by Trojan prisoners or by the casual observation of a Trojan maiden. Sophocles in his *Ajax* may have followed Pindar,<sup>2</sup> or both may use the same unknown source, in making the Greek chieftains themselves the arbiters in favor of Odysseus. His purpose was to render the character of Ajax more logical by giving him an additional reason for wrath against his fellow generals, which would

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<sup>1</sup> In the second line of the play Odysseus describes Lemnos as "untrodden of mortals and uninhabited"; in the last part of the parodos the Chorus bemoan his loneliness; and again his own first words of address to the strangers are exclamations of surprise that they have put in at an uninhabited island.

<sup>2</sup> *Nem.* VIII, 26 ff.



not have seemed to have an adequate foundation if the judges of the award had been merely Trojan women or prisoners. Since the dénouement depends upon the resentment of Ajax, the whole architecture of the play is strengthened by this change. Another example of a similar transformation of the myth for the sake of basing the dénouement upon character is afforded by the *Trachiniae*. According to the ordinary story Heracles had captured the maiden Iole for his son Hyllus, and had himself sent for the poisoned robe. Desiring to make the jealousy of the wife, Deianira, responsible for the catastrophe, Sophocles, following the version given by the epic, the *Capture of Oechalia*, represents the hero as capturing the maiden for himself, so that naturally his offended wife despatches the fatal garment under the delusion that it is endowed with an amorous charm to win back the affection of her husband. At the very end of his life, in his cleverest achievement in tragic architecture, the construction of a complex but compact play, the *Oedipus Coloneus*, almost out of nothing,—a veritable making of dramatic bricks from mythical straws,—he exhibits his usual tendency to find causes for the action in the qualities of his personages. According to the older version, the curse of Oedipus upon his sons was occasioned by Fate, and the fratricidal strife was the result; according to Sophocles, the fratricidal strife was born from the evil passions of Eteocles and Polynices, and the curse was the result.<sup>1</sup>

In this stress upon the study of character, the poet, as in other aspects of his genius, was partly a product of his age. With the new enthusiasm for investigation of every kind that came with the Periclean Age and manifested itself especially in the educational endeavors of the Sophists, as in the Italian Renaissance, man began to study himself, and then, by a perfectly natural transition, was led to study his fellows. One reflection of this tendency was the maxim which Socrates sought to inculcate: *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*; another was Sophocles' conscious psychological analysis. He has enjoyed among moderns the widest popularity of the triumvirate of tragic writers partly because of the conscious effort

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<sup>1</sup> This statement rests upon the interpretation of the *πρόθε* of line 1375, as referring not to a curse of Oedipus before the play begins but to his former imprecations within the play itself when he learns of his sons' misdeeds. This interpretation is accepted by the most creditable scholars: cf. the comment upon this line in the Jebb and Wolff-Bellermann editions.



that he spends upon characterization, for in this respect we of the present day are far more exacting than the ancients. We condemn without a fair trial such a dramatist as the Spanish Echegaray, simply because his characters are not always consistent or convincing, no matter what other virtues of delicately mathematical construction his works possess; we condone, nay, wax enthusiastic about any play that includes a group of interesting personalities, such as the *Passing of the Third Floor Back*, no matter how grave are its architectonic defects or how pernicious its teaching. It is an ill wind, however, that blows no good; and this unbalanced critical attitude has at least inspired a renewed admiration for Sophocles.

## II

Having established the determinative motive of the Sophoclean drama, we may pass to an examination of the moulds in which he casts his characters. Many of these I have suggested in the previous discussion. First and foremost, in his delineation of the protagonist, he lays emphasis upon the strength of the human will. From the very beginning the principal character is marked by an iron will centered upon a definite object; and the drama, according to Sophocles, consists to a certain extent of a series of tests, arranged in climactic order, to which the will is subjected, and over all of which it rises triumphant.<sup>1</sup> In this respect Sophocles presents a curious analogy to Corneille. Since with the tendency of French classicism to bind itself by rule Corneille constructs his tragedies more strictly than Sophocles according to the principle of proving the invincibility of the "volonté" by a graduated series of tests, I can perhaps best illustrate my meaning by first analyzing one of his typical productions, the *Polyeucte*. Polyeucte, a noble Armenian lately converted to Christianity, concentrates his will upon faithfulness to the new religion. Though there is the secondary motive of a former "affaire de coeur" between Polyeucte's wife, Pauline, and a Roman knight, Sévère, Corneille builds his play out of a climactic group of ordeals to which the hero's will is subjected. In the first act, despite the ominous dream and forebodings of Pauline, he persists in his

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<sup>1</sup> M. Croiset (*Histoire de la littérature grecque*, second edition, vol. III, pp. 250 ff.) suggests this theory of the Sophoclean drama but does not develop it.

desire for baptism. In the second, despite the counsels of a Christian friend, Néarque, to a milder course and despite the danger which he incurs, he carries devotion to his religion to the point of overturning the statues of the false gods. In the third act, he endures unflinchingly the anger of his father-in-law, the governor of Armenia, and the sight of his friend's martyrdom. In the fourth, while he awaits his own execution, he has to meet the still harder test of love, the remonstrances and even the reproaches of his wife, who declares that his steadfastness is only an indication of his readiness to abandon her. The test of love is rendered all the more potent and terrible by the thought that after his death Pauline may marry his former rival. In the last act his will refuses to succumb to the subtler and Machiavellian test of opportunism, when, in order to save himself, he is besought to simulate a return to Paganism only until the emperor's envoy shall depart; and finally his resolution is adamant against the combined objurations of his wife and her father.

Although with the greater freedom of Greek literature Sophocles does not confine himself to such a rigid system of tests, he usually constructs his tragedies in similar fashion. This method may be called the first of those general principles employed by Sophocles in dramatic architecture. The *Electra*, indeed, is as perfect an example as any work of Corneille. The heroine's will is directed towards vengeance, and Sophocles makes a play out of a rising scale of temptations to relinquish her purpose. The drama begins with her rejection of the efforts of the chorus to console her for the unhappy state of the household and to inspire her with resignation to existing conditions. The next section of the play is made by causing her to meet the exhortations of her sister to compromise. A third part is added when she has to stand firm against the insults of her mother. In conclusion, she does not succumb beneath the culminating blow of the false report of her brother's death but attains a final and complete victory of the will by assuming herself the gruesome task of assassination. Virtually the whole tragedy, then, is constructed of a series of tests. The Orestes motive, of course, like the Sévère motive in Corneille's *Polyeucte*, has to appear, and, as a concession to mythical tradition, the brother has to reveal himself to the sister and become the actual instrument of the deed; but he is kept subsidiary and Electra dominates the scene until the very end, when she lures Aegisthus to his doom.

The *Oedipus Tyrannus* is almost as good an example. The king's mind is set upon finding the murderer of Laius, who is the cause of the curse upon Thebes. The prologue announces his purpose, and, in this case, the tests of the purpose which constitute the four episodes are all of the same nature, calculated to deter him by the possibility that he himself is the culprit, but they are of growing intensity as the possibility becomes more and more a certainty. In the first episode he is not turned aside by the dark hints of the seer, Tiresias. In the second he persists in the search by questioning his wife, Jocasta, although every word of hers tends to confirm his suspicion. In the third, despite the discovery that the oracle which foretold that he should slay his father and espouse his mother may yet be fulfilled, and despite the entreaties of Jocasta, who is now cognizant of the awful fact, he will not be diverted, but reiterates his intention of carrying his investigation to the bitter end.<sup>1</sup> In the fourth he continues with a dogged obstinacy his interrogation of the Theban herdsman, who has the key to the situation, until, uninfluenced by the conviction that he is shattering his own happiness, he ferrets out the whole appalling truth. Since the long exodus concerns itself only with the catastrophe, the main fabric of the tragedy may properly be said to consist of a series of tests.

All of the other extant dramas except the *Trachiniae* have largely the same architectural framework. In the earlier works, the *Antigone* and *Ajax*, it is only the first part that is so constructed. The object of Antigone's will is piety towards her dead brother Polynices, and here the tests begin in the very prologue when she cannot be moved from her determination to bestow upon him the precious funeral rites by the fear of the punishment of death or by the supplications of her sister, Ismene. Though she at once achieves her purpose by scattering dust over her brother's body, the tests do not end, for Sophocles develops the plot to a scene between her and Creon, in which she thwarts his attempt to make her acknowledge that she was wrong, still maintaining her strength of will and sense of righteousness, by asserting the supremacy of divine over human law, which her opponent has invoked as the principle of his action. Even by adding to the death sentence the torture of burial alive he cannot coerce her into acknowledging any guilt. To show that her determination has conquered every obstacle

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<sup>1</sup> O. T. 1076-1085.



Sophocles finally touches upon the motive of her love for Haemon. In this earlier period when he has not yet fully matured this method of construction, the tests are not arranged in climactic order as in the *Electra* or the *Oedipus Tyrannus*; especially, to the Hellenic mind, Antigone would not find love the strongest drawback in the attainment of her purpose. The second half of the tragedy, according to a method that I shall later outline,<sup>1</sup> is constructed of tests of Creon's will. In the *Ajax* the protagonist is determined upon suicide. A large section of the first episode is taken up with the efforts of the chorus and of his concubine Tecmessa to comfort him; then Sophocles introduces the motive of his love for his little son, Eurysaces, to put his will to a severer proof; and at the end of the scene Tecmessa's fresh entreaties are of no avail. The second episode is used further to illustrate his indomitable will by a severer test. Though he has relented from his sternness towards his family and friends and though he is no longer aided by that passionate exaltation in which he had decided upon suicide, even now in his calmer and saner mood he clings to his resolve as fixedly as ever and deludes them with ambiguous language. The tragedy breaks in two at the middle after the death of Ajax, and the second part concerns itself with the dispute over the burial of the hero's body.

In the works of his old age, the *Philoctetes* and the *Oedipus Coloneus*, the structure of the early plays is exactly reversed. Now, the first part contains exposition and preparatory development, and the tests are relegated to the second half. In the *Philoctetes* the first half and more of the play depict the treachery of Odysseus and Neoptolemus, although from the very beginning the protagonist is seen to be marked by the customary iron will, here directed against reconciliation with the Greeks who have wronged him. When Neoptolemus has once revealed the stratagem the rest is only a series of proofs of the will. Philoctetes, refusing to gratify his enemies by returning to Troy, is impervious, first, to the possibility of starvation when he is deprived of the bow with which he has been wont to forage for his food; second, to the efforts of the crew of Neoptolemus to shake his resolve; third, to his own desire to show his gratitude to Neoptolemus who generously restores the bow; fourth, to the threats of Odysseus; fifth, to his longing for

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 87.



fame and recovery from his disease, which the young prince tells him an oracle has promised if he will join his former comrades at Troy; and sixth, and as a climax, to the continued kindness of Neoptolemus, who now even agrees to take him home to Malis. He is finally persuaded only by the direct intervention of heaven in the person of Heracles.

The *Oedipus Coloneus* affords the most signal instance in the extant works of Sophocles of the manner in which he constructed a whole drama out of very slight mythical material. In his other plays he evolves from a few bare mythical elements an extended and elaborate psychological crisis; in the *Oedipus Coloneus* he starts with even less, and at that, with material which would seem at first sight to offer very little dramatic opportunity. About all that he had to begin with was the local legend of his birthplace, according to which Oedipus had met at Colonus his death and apotheosis in the shrine of the Eumenides. Upon this small foundation he chose to rear his structure. In this case where Sophocles was dependent almost wholly upon his own powerful imagination, one may discern more clearly those principles which he usually observed in dramatic architecture. First, the protagonist's will must be firm and centered upon some purpose; what purpose would be more likely to suggest itself than the desire to remain in Attica and thus to obtain that translation to heaven which had been foretold to him by Apollo? The next step was to create a series of obstacles which should put to the test this determination: what more natural obstacle than the wish on the part of others to decoy him away from Athens? Sophocles, therefore, invented<sup>1</sup> an oracle that predicted success to that party at Thebes which should obtain possession of Oedipus, thus cleverly bringing the well-known myth of the Seven against Thebes into connection with his play by imagining a period of preparation anterior to the actual war. The drama was now made; all that was left to do was to devise a chain of episodes in which the several factions interested in the government of Thebes should seek to gain control of Oedipus.

The first part of the play is occupied chiefly by an exposition of the arrival and welcome of Oedipus, although he is subjected forthwith to

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<sup>1</sup> We may use the word "invented," although it is always possible that he drew from some source as yet unknown to us.

the lesser test of opposition on the part of the elders of Colonus, when they beseech him to depart from their coasts, horror-stricken to learn his identity. After he has won their sympathy and prevailed upon the king, Theseus, to protect him, the long first episode concludes and the tests begin. In the second episode his will is put to the trial of force, when Creon, the envoy of Eteocles, who is the present lord of Thebes, seeks to coerce him into returning to that city, first by abducting his two daughters, Antigone and Ismene, thus removing the blind old man's means of sustenance, and second, by offering to carry off Oedipus himself by violence. In the end Theseus prevents this piece of insolence and restores the maidens. The third episode is again one of preparation in which Oedipus is persuaded to receive the representative of the other faction, his son Polynices, who has called down upon himself the wrath and curse of his father by quarrelling with his brother, Eteocles, over the Theban throne. In the first part of the fourth episode the old king is put to the trial of persuasive language<sup>1</sup> and of the inclination of a father's heart when Polynices pleads with him that he may join the expedition of the Seven Champions against Eteocles. After he has angrily refused with additional curses, the rest of the fourth episode and the exodus are composed naturally of the reward for his fixity of purpose — the promised apotheosis. In the *Oedipus Coloneus* Sophocles approximates closest the method of the modern dramatist, who usually invents the whole of his plot; he might well have described the process by the words which Racine proudly used of his own work, "faire quelque chose de rien."

In the Sophoclean conception of the drama we have an explanation for the striking fact that six out of the seven plays are called after the protagonists, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Oedipus Coloneus*, the *Ajax*, the *Philoctetes*, the *Antigone*, and the *Electra*; since the tragedy relates the victory of the protagonist's will, it rightly bears his name as a title. Since the *Trachiniae* is built on a different model, it follows the Aeschylean precedent of using the name of the chorus. One of Sophocles' main reasons in employing this first constructive principle

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<sup>1</sup> L. Bellermaun in his excellent treatment of the *Gang der dramatischen Handlung* appended to his edition of this play analyzes brilliantly the general structure and points out especially the different nature of the two great trials, one by force and the other by persuasion, to which Oedipus is subjected.

was the desire to exhibit, by putting the will to severe proof, the underlying strength of character which justifies the prominent position held by the protagonist in the action and properly elicits the admiration of the spectators. But Sophocles applies his dramatic principle still further. He goes on to test the will of a secondary character, usually the antagonist of the leading figure. In this case, since the will is focussed upon wrong, it usually has to succumb. The best example is the *Antigone*, the latter section of which consists of tests of Creon's determination to maintain the law of the state. First, he is not deterred by Antigone's eloquent championship of divine law; the whole third episode is a fruitless effort on the part of his son, Haemon, to influence him towards mercy. Being a subordinate figure, however, and of a weaker nature than Antigone, whose invincible spirit acquires additional relief by contrast, he finally breaks down under Tiresias' prophecy of impending curses. It is the same in the *Philoctetes*. Neoptolemus has decided to hoodwink the outcast, but by a chain of incidents, which I shall later indicate,<sup>1</sup> is gradually led to relinquish his purpose. So, perhaps, the latter half of the *Ajax* might be considered a series of tests, consisting of the arguments and threats of Menelaus and Agamemnon, which Teucer undergoes in his resolution to bury his brother's corpse, although here the will of the secondary personage is not fixed upon unrighteous action.

This analysis of the dramas of Sophocles leads to some very curious and important conclusions. In the *Antigone* and *Ajax* the structure is closely parallel: the first part is composed of tests of the protagonist's will, and the second of tests of the deuteragonist's. Inasmuch as the leading character dies comparatively early in each of these tragedies, and the latter part concerns itself with these proofs of subordinate wills and with other matters not inextricably bound up with the fabric of the first section, the two works contain slight anticlimaxes, and the *Ajax* actually falls asunder in the middle. From these similarities, which are so striking as not to be without significance, may it be deduced that both plays were composed at the same period of the poet's life? The *Antigone* was produced in 442 or 441 B.C.;<sup>2</sup> it has usually been held that the *Ajax* also is to be assigned to an early period, or at least the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ed. of Jebb, *Introduction*, pp. xlii ff.



earliest known period of his production, on the basis of such internal evidence as the appearance of anapaests for an introduction to the more purely lyric measures of the parodos, the frequency of dochmiac meters, the absence of the long glyconic periods that are to be found in the other works of Sophocles, and the more epic and Aeschylean tone of the language. Does not the structural parallelism provide still more potent proof that the *Ajax* was written at about the same time as the *Antigone*, and may we not believe that the restriction of the principal tests to the first half of the play marks the years when Sophocles had not yet perfected the system? The *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Electra* are usually assigned on the ground of internal evidence and of possible political allusions to a period covering broadly the next three decades after 440 B.C.; the analogous structure, which now carries the tests, arranged in order of climax, through the greater part of the drama and reserves the end only for the dénouement, would confirm this conjecture and would naturally characterize the poet's mature or middle period. There is an architectural likeness also between the *Philoctetes* and the *Oedipus Coloneus* in that the first section of the play gives the foundation upon which later the tests are piled. The second hypothesis of the *Philoctetes* assigns it to 409 B.C.; the general voice of Greek and Roman literature, including such reputable authors as Plutarch<sup>1</sup> and Cicero,<sup>2</sup> connects the *Oedipus Coloneus* with the story that the aged Sophocles, haled before a court by his legitimate son, Iophon, on the allegation of unfitness to administer the family estate through senility, recited the exquisite first stasimon in glorification of Colonus and Athens as a sufficient proof of his unimpaired faculties. Certain critics, carrying the modern sceptical attitude to the point of silliness, have refused credence to the tale, resorting to the easy and overworked expedient of declaring it the invention of a comic poet;<sup>3</sup> but what internal evidence exists corroborates rather than contradicts the unanim-

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<sup>1</sup> *An seni sit res publ. ger.*, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *De senectute*, c. 7. Other authorities are: Lucian, *Macrobioi*, 24; Apuleius, *Apol.*, p. 298; Valerius Maximus, VIII, 7, 12.

<sup>3</sup> It is true that a corrupt passage in the *Vita* seems to mean that a writer of comedy had represented Iophon in this guise upon the stage, but the likelihood is that he had some starting-point in fact though he and those who repeated his gossip may have added decorative details.



ity of ancient tradition, at least in the question of dating,<sup>1</sup> and the structure of the play adds strong proof by coupling it with the *Philoctetes*, which certainly belongs to his old age. Sophocles' reason for abandoning the more stereotyped dramatic form of his middle period may have been the fear that a tragedy consisting of nothing but tests might be monotonous. The structural analysis is thus important not only for the comprehension of the evolution of the poet's dramatic art but also for establishing the dates of several of his plays.

The determination exhibited by the characters of Sophocles is no dark and unreflecting stubbornness, but, as Croiset points out in a brilliant passage,<sup>2</sup> is illumined by the light of reason. They may start with a mere instinctive feeling of right, but the intellect soon comes to the aid of intuition; or the logical motive may have been present from the first, although it is not explained until a more advanced moment of the action. The best example is *Antigone*. In the beginning she reveals only the feeling that she must bury the body of Polynices; it is not until the middle of the play that she lays bare the springs of her conduct in the famous speech which proclaims the precedence of the higher over the earthly laws. Likewise, at the end of the *Ajax*, Teucer, in elaborate rhetorical replies to Menelaus and Agamemnon, seeks to justify his early formed resolve to honor his dead brother with the proper ceremonial interment. Electra defends herself with sound logic against the specious excuses of Chrysothemis and the impassioned rhetoric of Clytaemnestra. In this stress upon the reason Sophocles is once more an exponent of the cultured atmosphere of his native city. The personages of Aeschylus act rather upon sublime impulse, although they are by no means marked by that primitive roughness which it is the fashion to ascribe to them. The characters of Sophocles are still

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<sup>1</sup> Some critics have sought to place it earlier in the career of Sophocles by discovering definite political allusions. Lachmann, for example (*Über die Absicht und Zeit des Sophokleischen Ödipus auf Kolonos*, Rhein. Mus., 1827) assigns it to a period just before the Peloponnesian War, imagining that Sophocles intended to show what glory Athens would gain by the outcome. But such assumptions are gratuitous; and the peril of persisting in reading contemporary history into the plays of Sophocles is shown by the absurdities into which A. Schöll lapses in his *Sophokles*, interpreting, for instance, each of the Greek chieftains after whom Philoctetes inquires as some prominent figure in Athenian politics.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire*, vol. III, pp. 264 ff.

further removed from the uncivilized type ruled only by the passions; they are the intelligent, perfectly poised individuals of Periclean Athens with whom the poet was familiar.

The fixity of purpose is further relieved by combination with other traits. I have already referred to the gentler aspects of Electra and Antigone. In the same way the sternness of the king Oedipus is modified by love of his children. The relentless decision of Ajax stands out against his fondness for his concubine and parents and against his profound affection for his child, who is brought upon the scene partly for the sake of revealing this other phase of his character. Sophocles changes the whole story of Philoctetes by the introduction of Neoptolemus in order to exhibit the fairer sides of the hero's nature, such as his craving for companionship and his trustworthiness; and he even delays the action for a number of lines so that Philoctetes may inquire anxiously after his old comrades in the expedition.<sup>1</sup>

### III

In this delineation of character Sophocles is, as always, the artist. Since harmony is the very essence of art, it was necessary that his personages should be consistent throughout, and he obtained this consistency partly by giving to the protagonist a uniformly inflexible will. But that the artistic harmony might be perfect, it was necessary also that the personages should be adapted to their purpose, or, to put it more concretely, to the atmosphere of tragedy. Conforming to this requirement, the principal characters of Sophocles are truly tragic, first, because they are heroic. He studies their qualities, to be sure, from everyday life, but he magnifies these in order to bring them into accord with the loftier sphere in which his personages reside. Not all of his figures, of course, loom so large against the background, as for instance the messengers or such subordinate characters as Chrysothemis and Ismene, though Ismene in the *Antigone* becomes heroic enough in the end to offer to share her sister's fate; but the prominent participants in the action always retain much of the nimbus of majesty that overhangs the

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<sup>1</sup> This is one of the justifications for what appears at first sight a superfluous passage (lines 412 ff.): other reasons for its appearance I shall mention later; cf. below, p. 122.

myths of gods and demigods in which they had their origin. The tragedies of Sophocles do not take place on the mountain heights of Aeschylus nor on the often humdrum plains of Euripides; they occupy a midway position. They are not pervaded by that mysterious atmosphere of supernatural awe which almost terrifies the reader of Aeschylus, nor do they descend to the vulgarity of Euripides, which is so incongruous to the noble spirit of the ancient legends. Electra is maltreated, but she is not debased, as by Euripides, into the farmer's wife, disturbed by petty domestic cares. The Philoctetes of Euripides, we gather from the slur upon him in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes,<sup>1</sup> was one of those squalid wrecks of humanity with whom he loved to fill the stage. Sophocles makes his Philoctetes an even more horrible sufferer, and influenced by his rival, spares no detail in depicting his woes; but he elevates him above the level of abject realism by adding such redeeming qualities as his superb will, his affection for Neoptolemus, and his patriotism.<sup>2</sup> Sophocles is here an exponent of his classical age, which laid stress upon the golden mean in action, and avoiding excess on one side and the other, exemplifies the virtue of moderation or *σωφροσύνη*, which was to the Greek as charity to the Christian. He does not climb so high as Aeschylus, and yet disdains the *banalité* of Euripides. All this was put epigrammatically, according to Aristotle,<sup>3</sup> by Sophocles himself: *Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη αὐτὸς μὲν οἴους δεῖ ποιεῖν, Εὐριπίδης δὲ οἰοί εἶσι.*

His characters, even though they are in the wrong, have no meanness about them. If they are sinners, they are heroic sinners, with even their misdeeds on a magnificent scale. Ajax, guilty of the sin by which the angels fell, in a final superb outburst of pride, calls upon the very Sun to further his own interests: <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 424.

<sup>2</sup> Lessing, in a well-known passage of the *Laocoön* (Chap. IV), points out that Philoctetes' physical sufferings do not disgrace the tragic stage because they are united to mental anguish.

<sup>3</sup> *Poetics*, XXV.

<sup>4</sup> *Ajax*, 845-849, translation of Sir George Young, which has never been properly appreciated for its happy union of faithfulness to the text and poetic phrasing. The other quotations in the article are from the same source.



"Thou too,  
 Driving thy chariot up the steep of heaven,  
 When thou revisitest my native land,  
 Sun, draw thy gilded rein, and tell of me,  
 My woes and ruin, to the old man my sire,  
 And that unhappy dame who nurtured me."

Agamemnon in the *Ajax* is overbearing, but he preserves the majesty of a king. Creon in the *Antigone* is no wanton tyrant; his acts are passionately impulsive and short-sighted, but nevertheless based on principles that seem to him righteous. Clytaemnestra in the *Electra* is dyed in wickedness, but even so, through the force of her great personality, demands admiration. Polynices in the *Oedipus Coloneus* is unfilial, unbrotherly towards Eteocles, and covetous, but his crime is heroic, in that he arouses all Greece to a war to further his ambitions. The personages of Sophocles err with the grandeur of an Antony, when, taunted by Cleopatra for fearing the consequences of his illicit passion, he protests in lines as fine as any to be found in the whole range of Shaksperian drama: <sup>1</sup>

"Let Rome in Tiber melt, and the wide arch  
 Of the ranged empire fall! Here is my space  
 Kingdoms are clay: our dungy earth alike  
 Feeds beast as man: the nobleness of life  
 Is to do thus; when such a mutual pair  
 And such a twain can do 't, in which I bind,  
 On pain of punishment, the world to weet  
 We stand up peerless."

The characters of Sophocles are seldom stained with such dwarfing vices as cowardice, avarice, or conceit. Preferring to depict an existence untrammelled by the pettiness of life, he has ever been known as an exponent of that indifference to trials and tribulations, in a word, of that serenity which marked the placid Periclean age in which he had grown to maturity.

Odysseus is the exception that proves the rule. Possessing the same traits both in the *Ajax* and in the *Philoctetes* he is an exemplar of the baser passions. It is important to digress for a moment upon a subject which has been so widely misunderstood and which involves the fundamental principles of the poet's thought and relation to his times.

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<sup>1</sup> *Antony and Cleopatra*, I, 1.



Odysseus is conceived as the perfect type of that worldly and practical wisdom which knows how to extract the greatest advantage from this life without overstepping the bounds of caution. He conducts himself so as to drive the best bargain with his fellowmen, and yet he never carries his ambition so far as to provoke the envy of the gods. His code of ethics is the utilitarian. The quality of mercy, which of all the virtues should be the most spontaneous, with him is strained, for he himself baldly acknowledges that his compassion for Ajax has a selfish basis :<sup>1</sup>

“ I commiserate him —  
Wretch — notwithstanding that he is my foe,  
Bound hand and foot with dire calamity;  
Pondering his case no deeper than my own,  
Seeing in us all, as many as are alive,  
Nothing but phantoms or a fleeting shade.”

Through wide and disagreeable experience he has lost his youthful belief in humanity and has become a sceptic and a cynic, forced to admit that the tongue is mightier than the sword.<sup>2</sup> In some passages, nevertheless, Sophocles subtly insinuates a certain degree of contempt for this egoistic prudence, reflecting doubtless the feeling of his age. In the Homeric poems is mirrored an unmistakable admiration for the cleverness of Odysseus, even when that cleverness involves dishonesty. Since in those days the struggle for existence was harder, a prince who was not, like Achilles and Ajax, endowed with great physical prowess could use his wits as best he might to further his own ends, without much fear, as long as he was successful, of reprobation from his contemporaries. But now in the fifth century, after the rise of Orphism and of philosophy, there had grown up a loftier conception of life, which set certain absolute ethical standards above the mere advantage of the individual; and the change of attitude is revealed by the covert scorn of Sophocles for the character of Odysseus.

Both in the *Ajax* and in the *Philoctetes* he emphasizes the timidity for which the lively intelligence of Odysseus compensated. In order to make clear his cowardice, which has never been sufficiently emphasized, I analyze briefly the significant scenes. At the beginning of the former play he turns the white feather when Athena summons the raving Ajax

<sup>1</sup> *Ajax*, 121-126.

<sup>2</sup> *Phil.* 96-99.

from the tent.<sup>1</sup> No sooner has she mentioned her intention than with a frightened outcry he begs her to refrain. Although she bids him be silent, accuses him definitely of δειλία, and seeks to calm his fear, he reiterates twice his supplication. Even when Athena repeats her assurance that she will darken the vision of Ajax so that he shall not recognize his enemy,<sup>2</sup> Odysseus gives only a reluctant consent with the optative μένοιμ' ἄν, and ends by comically wishing himself, in any case, somewhere else. I am convinced, as I shall later seek to demonstrate,<sup>3</sup> that Sophocles meant to represent Odysseus in this scene a poltroon to the point of the ludicrous. Throughout the *Philoctetes* he shrinks from confronting the protagonist, as when at the beginning he gives the command to Neoptolemus :

" Send therefore  
Your follower to scout, lest unawares  
He fall on me; for he would like to get me,  
Rather than all the Argives, in his power." <sup>4</sup>

Towards the end of this same play Sophocles goes even further in depicting the disagreeable qualities of Odysseus, when he makes him resort to the final means of all cowards, — tattling: baffled at the determination of Neoptolemus to restore the bow, he threatens him with carrying the information to the Greek host.<sup>5</sup> The cowardice of Odysseus is, of course, only another aspect of his practical wisdom, which finds prudence to be the better part of valor; but Sophocles clearly shows the contempt in which he holds such an attitude towards life by thus debasing him in some places into an actual object of ridicule and by the splendid concluding refusal of Neoptolemus to subscribe to the doctrine that the end justifies the means :

<sup>1</sup> *Ajax*, 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. Richard (*De interpolatione fabulae Soph. quae inscribitur Ajax*, p. 14) betrays, like so many commentators, a lamentable lack of dramatic sensibility, when he wantonly deletes lines 68–70, because, forsooth, lines 83–85 embody the same promise of the goddess. The repetition is a clever device of Sophocles to stress the cowardice of Odysseus, who must be quieted by a double assurance.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> *Phil.* 45–47.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 1257–1258:

" Nay, I will let you be.  
Rather will I depart and tell the tale  
To the whole army, which shall punish you."

*Odysseus.* "You neither say nor seek to do things wise."

*Neoptolemus.* "If acts are just, they are better than if wise."<sup>1</sup>

The noble son of Achilles simply voices here the poet himself, and Antigone represents another phase of the same exalted philosophy of life when she subordinates the advantage of the state to piety.

With this one exception of Odysseus, the prominent characters in the Sophoclean drama live in a heroic atmosphere. Studying, to be sure, nature itself, Sophocles dissects the passions of ordinary existence, but he then magnifies them in order to bring them into harmony with the loftier spirit of tragedy. He examines the manifestations of constancy in the world about him and then heightens it to accord with the natures of Antigone and Electra. He analyzes the instances of resentment against enemies with which he comes into contact, and then idealizes this quality to be the foundation of the character of Philoctetes. He inspects the examples of short-sighted political action that Athens offers so copiously, and then purges it of all mean concomitants that it may befit, in the *Antigone*, the personality of the lordly Creon. However sublime the characters of Sophocles, they are never unreal, since the starting-point is always actuality. Shakspeare follows the same method in some of his plays, especially in the Roman tragedies. In *Antony and Cleopatra* he presents an apotheosis of the erotic passion by uniting it to the nobility of the peerless twain from whom the work takes its name. So in *Othello*, he takes what he has learned from a study of the different manifestations of jealousy and refines this passion of all baser alloy until it is pure enough to be amalgamated with the temperament of the heroic Moor. The character of Ajax, though the other circumstances are almost as diverse as can be, affords a curious and instructive analogy to that of Othello. Both are heroic children. Sophocles adopts the traditional view of his protagonist's nature, which, beginning with Homer, enjoys a long vogue even down into Elizabethan times with Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. His heroic qualities are, chiefly, his prowess, which throughout Greek literature is conceived as second only to that of Achilles, and his high ideals, which reveal themselves, for instance, in his depression after he has come to himself and realizes the absurdity of his crazed onslaught upon the herds. His childishness consists principally in his unrestrained emotions, which

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<sup>1</sup> *Phil.* 1245-1246.



when he is thwarted plunge him in a delirium of rage. Even in Homer, who compares him to a donkey,<sup>1</sup> he has the stubbornness of a child; in the Sophoclean drama it is the virtue of this vice that helps to keep him steadfast, against all supplications, to his purpose of suicide. Finally, he is marked by the sensitiveness of a boy, cut at once to the quick by the unfair treatment from his fellow generals. He has the ready and trustful affections of youth,<sup>2</sup> and one of his greatest sorrows is his betrayal by his former friends, the Atridae, and his resulting loss of confidence in the whole institution of friendship:<sup>3</sup>

“I for my own part having learnt of late  
Those hateful to us we are not to hate  
As though they might not soon be friends again,  
Intend to measure, now, the services  
I render to my friend, as if not so  
To abide forever; for of mortals most  
Find friendship an unstable anchorage.”

He acts with the unreflecting passion of a lad,<sup>4</sup> but his physical might

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, XI, 558 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. his love of his followers, lines 330, 349-350.

<sup>3</sup> *Ajax*, 678-683.

<sup>4</sup> Athena's description of *Ajax* in the Sophoclean drama might seem to contradict partly this description (lines 118-120):

ὁρᾷς, Ὀδυσσεῦ, τὴν θεῶν ἰσχὺν ὄση;  
τούτου τίς ἂν σοι τάνδρὸς ἦ προνοώστερος,  
ἢ δρᾶν ἀμείνων ἡνρέθη τὰ κάρια;

But the goddess here with the adjective *προνοώστερος* alludes rather to his former sanity, contrasted with his actual madness; or if the word is to be interpreted in its literal sense, as referring to presence of mind, we shall simply have to say that it violates the idea of *Ajax* which is maintained in all other parts of the play. There are, to be sure, one or two passages in the *Iliad* where *Ajax* might seem to possess the virtue of prudence. He boasts (VII, 197-198) that no one could put him to flight through might or through *ἰσχύη*; but the word here evidently means only military skill, and in any case is simply used for the sake of a contrast with *βίη*. In another instance (VII, 288-289) Hector recognizes in his adversary both *βίην* and *πινυτήν*. At first sight it might appear that he was praising his wisdom in ceasing the combat at nightfall, but we are then led into the absurd conclusion that he is praising his strength for the same reason. The true interpretation of *πινυτήν* is again military skill; the purport of Hector's words is that because he admits the prowess and cleverness of *Ajax* in battle his enemy may stop fighting for the day without incurring dishonor. The idea that *Ajax* was more brave and chivalrous than wise became more and more emphasized in later literature, until Thersites in Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida* can speak of him as a kind of pugilist or muscular numskull (cf. especially Act II, scene 1).



and nobility of mind transform him into a heroic lad.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, Othello has the simple emotions and the impetuosity of a child, an unreflecting and confiding friendship for Cassio and Iago, and a heart as easily wounded, and yet he, too, is conceived on the grand scale. There is nothing complex about the bravery and love of Ajax and Othello, both are rushed into madness by jealousy of different sorts, and yet each gives concrete expression to his jealousy in a heroic manner, one by depriving himself of life, the other by depriving himself of what is more than life.

Through such an ideation of characters Sophocles seems to have created a new dramatic type, the heroic maiden. The two great examples in his extant tragedies are Antigone and Electra. In this element of his art he is not a product of his age but far in advance of it, for in Periclean Athens women did not enjoy a position much superior to that of the Orient. Perhaps he had in mind the nobler women of Sparta. In any case, the invention betokens on the part of Sophocles an interest in the feminine character. He was so devoted to delineation that, not satisfied with the study of the masculine temperament, he wished to go further and depict every aspect of life. His skill enabled him to make Antigone and Electra not only exponents of will-power but at the same time, as I have sought to demonstrate, true women. Aeschylus had revealed himself a masterful interpreter of the feminine temperament in the Danaids of the *Suppliants* and in the Clytaemnestra of the *Agamemnon* and the *Choephoroi*, but Sophocles is an even more interested observer of the other sex, simply because he was such an ardent student of character that he wanted to leave none of its phases unexplored. One manifestation of this tendency is the creation of the woman heroic in virtue, whose like does not reappear in art of any kind until Tintoretto creates his majestic feminine figures. Another is that he was perhaps the first to make the erotic motive principal in his lost *Phaedra*. Nay, the chief motive of the *Trachiniae* may be called erotic, since it is the amorous jealousy of Deianira that leads her to send the fatal robe to Heracles. Nothing, of course, according to your modern literary critic, ever has an actual beginning, and so I suppose we must say that

<sup>1</sup> The *ᾠμο-* of the compound adjectives *ᾠμοκρατής* (205), *ᾠμόθυμον* (885), and *ᾠμόφρων* (931) is to be interpreted in the sense of rough and untutored rather than of savage.

Aeschylus in his *Agamemnon* just falls short of allowing the erotic motive to dominate, for although Clytaemnestra's love of Aegisthus and jealousy of Cassandra cause the catastrophe, Aeschylus does not dwell much upon the springs of action but emphasizes rather the gruesomeness of her crime. Sophocles reveals the same interest finally by carefully elaborating, in distinction from the heroic type, many characteristically feminine rôles: Chrysothemis and Ismene, symbols of timidity and indecision; Tecmessa in the *Ajax* marked by anxious conjugal and maternal affection and a proper womanly concern for her future position in case of her husband's death; Antigone in the *Oedipus Coloneus*, exemplifying the tender devotion that only a daughter can bestow.

Sophocles introduced upon the Attic stage not only the heroic maiden but also the noble-minded and ingenuous youth. The chief examples are Neoptolemus in the *Philoctetes* and Hyllus in the *Trachiniae*, who are very similar to each other. The Orestes of Aeschylus can hardly be reckoned in this class, laden as he is with matricide and sunk beneath the gloom of an ancestral curse. The qualities of Neoptolemus I have already outlined. Hyllus is not so powerful a personality, but cast in the same mould, — the ephebe who can harbor no base thoughts, whose principal trait is his utter filial devotion, quick at the opening of the play to hasten to Heracles' assistance, loath at the end to ignite the funeral pyre, even though it means his father's deliverance. Haemon, although he does not act so prominent a rôle, in the few glimpses vouchsafed by Sophocles, is seen to belong to the same high category of heroic youths, hating Creon's injustice, loving Antigone even unto death.

The personages of Sophocles are truly tragic not only because they are built on majestic lines, but also because — to put it bluntly — the good are not wholly good, nor the bad wholly bad. The latter class I have already discussed,<sup>1</sup> and we may now properly consider the former, about whom the action centers. The protagonist must be human in that he is touched by our infirmities, both for the sake of seeming real and for the sake of supplying a moral impetus to the action. His constitution must be essentially pure and noble but commingled with some alloy which is refined away by the progress of the play. This principle is so generally acknowledged as fundamental in tragedy that it needs no further elucidation than an allusion to one or two traditional ex-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 91-92.

amples.<sup>1</sup> Hamlet's noble heart, of which Horatio speaks, suffers from indecision; in him

"the native hue of resolution  
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."

The various incidents of the play serve to exhibit the defect, but the trials through which the prince has to pass, those "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" also teach him the unhappy consequences of his sin, and, in the end, when he finally strikes at his uncle, are seen to have acted like a kind of surgical measure, an *ἄκος τομαῖον*, as Aeschylus would say, in cutting away the disease. Lear's kingly graces are contaminated by the baser metal of conceit and the foibles of age, such as irritability and childish folly; the action of the play reveals these but also removes them, leaving him at the conclusion purified of all evil, a shattered old man humbling himself even before his daughter Cordelia.

Sophocles adheres closely to this theory of tragedy, which constitutes his second principle of construction. The dramatic action has as a fundamental purpose the testing of the protagonist's will, but in the process it also achieves a purification of that will. Whether in the beginning the will was centered upon a righteous determination or otherwise, in the end it has been so far freed from the encumbering effect of whatever was ignoble in the soul that in the future it will burn with a bright and pure flame. Lest the objection be made that the modern critic, with his idea of regeneration through suffering, is reading the thoughts of his own age into the past, I quote two lines from the superb passage at the end of the *Philoctetes*, in which Sophocles himself puts into the mouth of Heracles this principle as one of those by which the protagonist should guide his life:

καὶ σοί, σάφ' ἴσθι, τοῦτ' ὀφείλεται παθεῖν,  
ἐκ τῶν πόνων τῶνδ' εὐκλεᾶ θέσθαι βίον.

For Sophocles, who thought of the drama primarily as a mode of presenting to the public his studies in character, such a conception of

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<sup>1</sup> Aristotle (*Poetics*, xiii) likewise claims that a character should be neither wholly good nor wholly bad, but on the different ground that their downfall would arouse neither pity nor fear. The phrase that he employs would suggest that he did not even demand that the protagonist be essentially good and noble, ὁ μήτε ἀρετῇ διαφέρων καὶ δικαιοσύνη. The frailty in his nature is described by the words, ἀμαρτίαν τινά.



tragedy would have the additional merit of enabling him to trace the catastrophe and its attendant suffering not to chance but to elements in the protagonist's personality. A third principle of Sophoclean construction may thus be discerned: the dramatic action not only tests and purifies the will, but also supplies the retribution for its transgressions. His hero in some wise has sinned, and the development of the plot, which demonstrates to the audience through a series of tests the essential force of will that justifies his position as protagonist, also punishes him for the sin and finally cleanses him of its stain. In this three-fold purpose lies the secret of the Sophoclean drama, and by these three reasons may be explained the introduction of virtually all the different incidents.

Of this purification and punishment the first palpable example is afforded by the *Ajax*. Sophocles does not leave unexplained Athena's hostility and the misfortunes of his hero, but actually invents, or at least draws from sources not extant, a motive in his presumption against heaven, the peculiarly Hellenic vice of ἕβρις. Twice he has sinned, boasting, when he left home, that only weaklings require the aid of heaven, and later in battle, offending particularly Athena, by scorning her proffered assistance. He has erred on a magnificent scale, but yet he has erred. Of this ἕβρις he is purged by the events of the play—first, the horrible mockery of finding that by this very divine power, which he has spurned, his sword has been directed not against the sons of Atreus, but against dumb and innocent beasts, second, the reaction to calm reason that ensues upon his burst of violence, and third, the realization of the helplessness of men in the hands of gods, which is forced upon him by the anticipation of his inevitable suicide and is expressed by him in his final splendid address to his friends: <sup>1</sup>

“ All things obscure the slow uncounted hours  
Bring forth to light, and cover all things plain;  
And nothing is so strange it may not be,  
But the stern oath — ay, and the stubborn mind  
Yield . . . . .

Wherefore in future we must learn to bend  
Before the Gods, and try to reverence  
The sons of Atreus. They are lords of us,

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<sup>1</sup> *Ajax*, 646 ff.



And we must needs give way to them. How else?  
For even things terrible and exceeding strong  
Do homage to the worthier; thus is it  
Snow-laden winters pass away before  
Fair-fruited summer-time; Night's gloomy round  
Gives place anon to the white steeds of Day  
To blaze with lustre; the fell blast of winds  
Can make cessation in the roaring main;  
And Sleep, the universal vanquisher,  
Sets free the captives he enchained, at last.  
And who are we, that we should not learn wisdom?"

In this much discussed passage I am convinced that Ajax is in the main sincere, though he purposely uses ambiguous language in order to deceive his concubine and followers into the belief that he is going to live on in subjection to the Atridae. What he really means is that he has indeed learned the wisdom of bending to human and divine authority but that he will manifest his submission by the nobler way of taking his own life and thus prevent himself from longer constituting an obstacle to the Atridae's sovereignty. The frightful curses that he heaps upon them at his death<sup>1</sup> do not contradict this interpretation, for the injustice of the decree about the award of arms, even though he has formally acknowledged that it should rightly be obeyed, still rankles in his breast. By bitter experience he has learned to honor authority in the abstract, but the personal exemplars of that authority he can still hate. Inasmuch as in this early play Sophocles desires to render perfectly clear his conception of tragedy, he boldly causes the seer, Calchas, to state that Ajax is punished for *ὑβρις*, and the hero himself definitely to acknowledge his change of heart. The words which the messenger says Tiresias used are an unmistakable declaration of the theory of retribution:<sup>2</sup>

"For till this day is done — such was his rede —  
The wrath of great Athena strikes at him.  
'For lives presumptuous and unprofitable  
Fail beneath sore misfortunes wrought by Heaven,'  
The seer declared, 'whenever seed of man  
Ceases to think as fits humanity.'"

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<sup>1</sup> *Ajax*, 835 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 756 ff.

In his later works he is more subtle, not always stating so directly his own idea, but allowing the audience to glean it for themselves from the words and deeds of his personages.

The cases of the *Antigone* and the *Electra* are not so plain. The inflexibility of Antigone carries with it as a natural concomitant a certain harshness manifested in her intolerant attitude towards her sister, especially when the latter offers to share her fate. Electra is somewhat querulous and pessimistic, accusing her absent brother of forgetfulness and unfaithfulness to his trust.<sup>1</sup> For these venial sins the woes endured by the maidens may partially be conceived as a punishment, but it must be admitted that Antigone and Electra are to a great extent victims of the hereditary curse, visited for the sins of their fathers. Sophocles also abandons here, apparently, his principle of purification, unless it is supposed that the sorrowful and regretful mood in which Antigone departs this life betokens a more chastened spirit. Inasmuch as the *Trachiniae* is not constructed upon the usual system of tests, neither is a strict application of the theories of chastisement and purification to be expected. According to modern ideas the page of Heracles' life is certainly flecked with enough amorous vagaries, but it is doubtful whether to the Greek mind, which condoned such peccadilloes in a great hero and willingly granted to Odysseus his Calypso, these caprices would have appeared serious enough to require so severe a punishment as the agony of Mt. Oeta. Even if Sophocles had no apotheosis in mind,<sup>2</sup> yet the release and repose promised to Heracles by Zeus compel a belief that his long labors and culminating tortures are conceived to have left him free from mortal taint. But the same Hellenic attitude, thinking Deianira no more justified in her jealousy than Penelope, may have magnified what seems to us a very pardonable fault in a woman so provoked. Although with noble generosity she glosses over her husband's inconstancies and merely sends him a magic robe which she trusts will win back his fickle affections, yet the Greeks may have judged that she gave way too readily to jealousy, that she should have bethought herself of the hostility of Nessus from whom she had received the love-charm, and that she should not have allowed her passion to

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<sup>1</sup> *Electra*, 100-101, 167-168, and 319.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jebb's introduction to his edition of the play, p. xxxi.

precipitate her in unreflecting action. And so for the ancients Deianira, who is the true protagonist of the tragedy, may have deserved her fate.

In the other extant works of Sophocles his scheme is more apparent. The nature of Philoctetes is marred by a great bitterness of temperament engendered by the ancient and continued injustices to him and by his long suffering. He has absorbed some of the savageness of the wild creatures with whom he has consorted, calling down upon Odysseus and the Atridae, for example, the same ills that have been his own portion.<sup>1</sup> His resentment towards his enemies at first refuses to honor even the express dictates of heaven, declared in the oracle given at Troy. Neoptolemus in plain terms declares to him his failing, using the very word which means to have become savage, ἡγρώσαι: <sup>2</sup>

“ But you are savage, and reject advice,  
If a man warn you kindly; deeming him  
For very hate, an adversary and foe.”

Neoptolemus also shows what the sin of Philoctetes had been when he declares to him the moral of his suffering: ὦ τᾶν, διδάσκον μὴ θρασύνεσθαι κακοῖς.<sup>3</sup> Philoctetes is a prototype of Calderón's great creation, Segismundo, in *La vida es sueño*. In the Spanish play the prince has been cast into a deserted wilderness by his father, in terror of the havoc which it had been predicted he would wreak upon the kingdom, and like the Greek hero he has acquired the savagery of his environment. Restored to the court, by reason of such training he bids fair to fulfil the prophecies, just as Philoctetes manifests the results of his exile in his attitude towards Odysseus, and it is found necessary to banish him again to the dreary solitude. Segismundo, however, has learned his lesson from the ordeal and finally is transformed into the ideal sovereign. But in both Philoctetes and Segismundo the resentful potentiality is innate and might have developed even in less provoking circumstances; and they are truly tragic characters because they are victims not only of malignant fate but of their own shortcomings. The very adversity into which they have fallen is partly a punishment for their evil traits. The redemption of Segismundo by the ordeal through which he has to pass in the course of the dramatic action is evident to the most casual observer; the redemption of Philoctetes is no less

<sup>1</sup> *Phil.* 275, 315-316.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 1321-1323.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1387.

certain, though not so palpable. The awful afflictions to which he is subjected in the play itself, by the maltreatment of Odysseus and the theft of his precious bow, perhaps finally begin to shatter his hitherto unrelenting hatred; and in any case the gentler qualities with which in distinction from the Euripidean Philoctetes<sup>1</sup> he is graced from the opening of the play, in the face of the constant kindness of Neoptolemus, gradually get the upper hand. The more pliable condition into which he has been brought at the end is revealed in his growing willingness to accept the proposals of Neoptolemus. Differing from the commentators upon this tragedy, I interpret the last discussion with the son of Achilles as betokening in Philoctetes a tendency to yield. Immediately after the long persuasive speech of Neoptolemus he plainly wavers:<sup>2</sup>

“ Detested life !

Why dost thou hold me above ground, yet seeing,  
O why not let me go, down to the grave?  
Alas, what shall I do? How can I be  
Deaf to his words, my friendly counsellor?  
Am I to yield, then? ”

Although in the end he refuses to return to Troy and thus attains a final formal victory of the will, the decision was evidently only by a hair's breadth, and even if Heracles had not appeared and bestowed divine sanction upon the pleading of Neoptolemus, Philoctetes might easily the next instant have altered his determination. His tendency to yield is cleverly intimated by his uniform employment in the final dialogue of interrogations instead of direct assertions:<sup>3</sup>

*Neoptolemus.* All that you say is fair; still, I desire  
That trusting to the Gods, and to my story,  
You would consent to sail, and leave this land,  
Under my friendly convoy.

*Philoctetes.* What, to Troy?  
To the detested son of Atreus?  
With this unlucky foot?

*Neoptolemus.* Rather, to those  
Who shall relieve you and this ulcerous limb  
From torment, and redeem you from disease.

*Philoctetes.* O sayer of strange things, what words are these?

*Neoptolemus.* What will end well, O know, for both of us.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Phil.* 1348-1352.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1373 ff.



- Philoctetes.* And in saying this have you no dread of Heaven?  
*Neoptolemus.* What dread should a man have, of profiting?  
*Philoctetes.* Profit to me or the Atridae?  
*Neoptolemus.* Why  
 To you; being friendly, and my advice the same.  
*Philoctetes.* Friendly, and want to give me to my foes?  
*Neoptolemus.* O sir, learn to be prudent, in your troubles.  
*Philoctetes.* I know that you will ruin me, by this tale.  
*Neoptolemus.* I shall not; but I say, you grow no wiser.  
*Philoctetes.* Do I not know the Atridae cast me out?  
*Neoptolemus.* But how if they will bring you safely back?  
*Philoctetes.* To behold Troy? Never, with my good will!

In the one sentence that is not a question Philoctetes appears almost convinced :

ὁλεῖς με, γιγνώσκω σε, τοῖσδε τοῖς λόγοις.

It may, then, be concluded that his purification through his sufferings has taken place even before the intervention of heaven.

Sophocles may have conceived Philoctetes as disfigured by a more serious defect. There existed a tradition, preserved by Servius<sup>1</sup> and followed by the moralizing Fénelon in his *Télémaque*,<sup>2</sup> that in his youth he had disregarded the injunction of Heracles to keep secret the place of the demigod's sepulchre. Although Sophocles makes no mention of it in the play, he perhaps had the idea that his hero was punished because of this sin, for he is not always careful about his exposition.<sup>3</sup>

Both in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Oedipus Coloneus* Sophocles thinks of a king excessively headstrong. Like Antigone, Oedipus has the vice of the virtue of an iron will, although the defect assumes a different expression. Reliance upon the will carries with it in Antigone a certain harshness; it rushes Oedipus into heedless action, and often takes the form of violent temper. The claim is sometimes made that he is the innocent victim of a hereditary curse.<sup>4</sup> No interpretation is further

<sup>1</sup> Comment to *Aen.* III, 402.

<sup>2</sup> Book XII.

<sup>3</sup> The scholiast mentions a tradition that Philoctetes paid the penalty of repelling the proffered love of Chryse. If Sophocles knew of it, he avoided it because it would have made the protagonist appear the victim rather of his virtue.

<sup>4</sup> A sensible yet unconvincing exposition of this theory is found in the *Rückblick* at the end of the Wolff-Bellermann editions of both plays.

from the truth, for the poet is too much concerned with seeking causes in human character ever to allow a *dénouement* to rest wholly upon fate. The catastrophe of the former tragedy is to be traced partly to the doom overhanging the Labdacidae, but Sophocles finds a reason also in the very nature of Oedipus. It is predestined that he shall slay his father, but the crime is derived also from his quickness to anger. He was, to be sure, unconscious of his father's identity and had himself been first provoked; but when he had already been warned by heaven of a possible patricide he should not have allowed himself to be moved by his reckless temperament but should have stopped to reflect. He himself acknowledges that he acted through wrath.<sup>1</sup> His same passionate spirit, expressing itself now in the sphere of love, hurried him into a marriage, the dire consequences of which might have been averted, had he waited to investigate. He violated the Greek virtue of moderation, and in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* he has to pay the price. He is overhasty in entertaining a suspicion of Creon, which even the proverbially timid chorus stigmatize as the result of an excited mood.<sup>2</sup> His irritability is repeatedly manifested and explicitly mentioned in the play. He flies into a rage at Tiresias; and Creon, as he leaves the stage, definitely declares to him his fault and its consequences:<sup>3</sup>

“You display your spleen  
In yielding; but, when your wrath passes bound,  
Are formidable! Tempers such as yours  
Most grievous are to their own selves to bear,  
Not without justice.”

The horrors at the end of the first play begin to break his spirit, but it requires all the long years of wretched exile before his chastening is complete. Even in the old man of the *Oedipus Coloneus*, as in *King Lear*, there is something of spleen left, which is encountered and recognized by Creon:<sup>4</sup>

θυμοῦ γὰρ οὐδὲν γῆρας ἔστιν ἄλλο πλὴν  
θανεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> *O. T.* 807.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 523-524, 617.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 673-675.

<sup>4</sup> *O. C.* 954-955; cf. for similar remarks from Creon, 804-805 and 852-855.

His curse upon his son Polynices would not be regarded by the Greeks so much an outbreak of anger as the righteous action of a father,<sup>1</sup> but in the previous scene when he is persuaded to receive his son, even the devoted daughter Antigone accuses him of the sin of anger and traces to it all his ills:<sup>2</sup>

“O let him come! Others have bad sons too  
And keen resentments; but, on being advised,  
They are charmed in spirit by the spells of friends.  
Look to the past, not to the present; all  
That you endured through mother and through sire;  
If you regard it, you will find, I know,  
That harmful passion ends in further harm.  
You have reminders of it far from slight,  
Maimed of your sightless eyes.”

To his ancient failing, which he himself now very naturally but very tragically fails to recognize,<sup>3</sup> he has added in this play a nervous and querulous anxiety which is the effect of his long sufferings. This irritability manifests itself in constant and importunate petitions for the protection which has already been promised him, until Theseus is aroused into reproving him.<sup>4</sup> Despite these smouldering embers, the old fire is almost extinguished, as may be observed at the very beginning in the crushed humility with which the erstwhile haughty sovereign meets the objections of the chorus to his sojourn at Colonus, and again when yielding to the persuasive words of Theseus and Antigone he consents

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<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that in all the modern versions of the *Oedipus Coloneus* by Ducis, Chénier, and Niccolini, who balk at the sternness of Greek ethics, the father relents, regrets his curse, and is reconciled with his son. In Ducis Polynices can be pardoned with more reason since there has been no oracle directing him to gain possession of Oedipus' body, and he is actuated merely by a longing for forgiveness. With Niccolini, the existence of the oracle makes him more selfish and the reconciliation, therefore, less logical. Chénier seeks to render him a more estimable character by representing him as persuaded by the thorough villain Eteocles to expel his father from Thebes. All these dramatists, however, are forced into the unnatural expedient of depicting divinity as less merciful than the man, Oedipus, for the Eumenides refuse to accept Polynices' repentance and drive him away on his sinister expedition against his brother.

<sup>2</sup> *O. C.* 1192-1200.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* 966-968.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 648-656, 1206-1210.

to receive Polynices ; and at the conclusion, in his august apotheosis he is to be regarded as purified of all earthly foibles.

There are one or two other points germane to Sophocles' psychological analysis which need passing mention. With the exception of this process of purification, he seldom presents before the eyes of the audience any further development in character. The personalities are already formed in main outlines as they are to remain throughout the drama. Antigone in the prologue itself exhibits her strong will and devotion to her brother. Neoptolemus hesitates at the deception of Philoctetes from the very beginning. In the *Oedipus Coloneus*, the protagonist is at the first a nobler figure than in the earlier play, conscious of his approaching reconciliation with heaven from the opening scene and already prepared for his translation. Deianira in the *Trachiniae* is the only signal example of an evolution in character, beginning as a trustful wife and only gradually becoming a prey to jealousy.

One of the principal devices that Sophocles employs to define his characters is contrast, often introducing persons of diametrically different temperaments from the protagonists for no other purpose. Ismene is created only to throw Antigone into higher light, and Chrysothemis performs the same office for Electra. To turn to examples where he does not introduce personages merely for the sake of contrast, in the *Philoctetes* Neoptolemus and Odysseus constitute foils to each other, the former standing for the frankness and guilelessness of youth, the latter for craftiness and opportunism. Likewise Ajax and his concubine become more vivid by contrast, since he is controlled by profound motives which are incomprehensible to Tecmessa, the simple woman of the fireside.

The emphasis upon the rôle of human character in producing the dénouement naturally diminishes the importance of the part that the gods had played in the tragedies of Aeschylus. Sophocles acknowledges and alludes to their overruling presence behind the scenes of mortal action, but he seldom brings them forward into the lime light as directing forces. There is little mention of Apollo's agency in the enterprise of Orestes, and Sophocles so far neglects the interference of deity in human destiny that he is not troubled by the religious problem of Orestes' expiation of the matricide. Basing the son's action rather upon character, he omits the long series of Apollo's threatened punish-



ments which it is declared in the *Choephoroi*<sup>1</sup> would follow upon disobedience of the god's behest. Seeing no further than human justice, which pardons the crime of Orestes as a deed of retribution, he does not seek to penetrate the laws of heaven, which require that the avenger must free himself from the stain of blood and purify himself in the sight of the spotless Phoebus. In order partly to sweep away that supernatural mist which had overhung the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles does not employ in the *Ajax* the detail of the myth which we learn from allusions in the scholiast appeared in his predecessor's play upon the same subject, the *Thracian Women*, — the magic invulnerability of Ajax except in a single place. He likewise avoids the supernatural in the *Philoctetes*. Aeschylus, concerned with effects on a grand scale and reckless of slight questions of probability, in his version of the story had somewhat unnaturally represented Philoctetes as failing to recognize Odysseus at once, and is naively excused by Dio Chrysostom<sup>2</sup> on the ground that the hero's faculties of perception might easily have been impaired by his long suffering. As in the *Electra* Euripides here also criticizes Aeschylus, though indirectly. He confronts Philoctetes with Odysseus, but he shows that he disapproves of the inconsistency in the matter of recognition by causing Athena miraculously to alter the latter's appearance. Sophocles, with a French classic antipathy for *le merveilleux* as a dramatic motive, escapes the difficulty by creating the figure of Neoptolemus for Odysseus to use as a go-between.<sup>3</sup> In general he admits formally the instrumentality of the gods, but he then proceeds so to manipulate his material that the dénouement depends solely upon earthly agencies. He thus involves himself in the eternal problem of divine omnipotence and man's free will; if the gods are the arbiters of human action, what part is there left for mortals to play? He does not seem to have essayed any solution of the dilemma, but forges straight

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<sup>1</sup> 269 ff.

<sup>2</sup> LII, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Châteaubrun in his *Philoctète* (1755) thinks to approach more the French ideal of *raison*, according to which all must be based on logic and nothing on the supernatural or extraordinary, in representing the hero as wounded not by a divinely ordered serpent but by the poisoned arrow of a Trojan. But, as Lessing has pointed out (*Læocöon*, chap. IV), he really defeats his own purpose, for then there is no reason for abandoning Philoctetes any more than another wounded Greek.

ahead, as if supernatural beings did not exist. Perhaps with his absorbed interest in human character he scarcely realized that there was any problem. The solution he bequeathed to the exponent of the more critical and sceptical tendencies of the age. Euripides decided it by throwing over the gods. He insinuates, nay, bluntly declares that they are sometimes in the wrong. Now, fallible gods are no gods at all, and this is the innuendo of Euripides, so that he would really have his audience understand that man's deeds depend wholly upon his own will. Although, however, he questions whether the gods control human destiny, he does not scruple to employ them as exalted magicians, in order that by a kind of spell they may loose the otherwise inextricable knot into which his personages have wound themselves. The typical *deus ex machina* implies no faith in an overruling Providence, but is merely a claptrap dramatic device rendered effectual by what Euripides himself would have derided as popular superstition. But Sophocles is too religious to descend to any such artificial and ignoble use of the gods. He resorts to the Euripidean expedient in only one of the extant tragedies, the *Philoctetes*, and then not in the ordinary way. The dénouement might have occurred without Olympic intervention, for Philoctetes had already begun to waver under the persuasive kindness of Neoptolemus.<sup>1</sup> Heracles is introduced only that he may patently set the seal of divine approval upon the return to Troy. Aesthetic justice, moreover, demanded his appearance. He had bestowed the arrows upon Philoctetes, and it is proper that he should now authorize their employment against the beleaguered city. Once again Sophocles abides by the classical golden mean. He has not the enthusiastic faith of Aeschylus, who created about himself such an atmosphere of mystic rapture that he necessarily transferred it to his dramas; nor is he distraught by the doubts of Euripides. Here one discovers another justification of the term, the serenity of Sophocles, since he takes life as he finds it, calmly and optimistically, not tormenting himself with questions that are beyond his ken.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 104, my interpretation of the final scene.

IV

There are certain other elements of Sophoclean construction which are not so directly linked with his fundamental principle of psychological study. His exposition calls first for consideration. He sometimes adopts the gradual manner of exposition used by Ibsen.<sup>1</sup> Instead of revealing in the first scene, like Euripides in his typical prologue, and like so many modern dramatists, all the circumstances that have preceded the events of the play, he distributes the elucidation throughout, revealing fact after fact, while the action advances, only as they are absolutely required for intelligibility. In *Hedda Gabler* Ibsen makes no explicit statement about the heroine's pristine relations with Eilert Lövborg until the second act when they begin to have a definite effect upon the dénouement. It is necessary now to inform the audience that there has existed in the old days a very intimate connection between the two and that Hedda was unable to influence Eilert for good, since in this act she once again seeks to have her hands, as she says, in the man's destiny. In the *Wild Duck* the complete truth about Hjalmar Ekdal's past and about the present conditions in the household is not revealed until the third act. Then it is that the spectator learns of his ambitions about the success of his invention and the rehabilitation of his father's honor, and at the same time of his pitiable weakness in character, just before, through that weakness and through the interference of a friend, the old order of things is to be subverted and tragedy is to ensue.

Sophocles employs the same method in the *Ajax*. At the beginning there is an exposition of the hero's frenzied misdeeds, in order to show the immediate occasion for his suicide, which occurs at about the middle of the action. But since Sophocles wishes to trace also a remote cause in the protagonist's own nature for the misfortunes that culminate in his death, Calchas' arraignment of Ajax for his presumption against Athena and the other gods is recounted at the beginning of the third episode immediately before his final soliloquy. The second part of the play is taken up with the question whether Ajax shall be honorably buried; it is not until now that it is necessary to know the lights and

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<sup>1</sup> For a less extensive treatment of this phenomenon, cf. my article on the *Dramatic Art of Aeschylus*, *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.*, 1905, pp. 56-57.



shadows of his character, so that one may decide what justification there is for and against the sepulchral rites. Sophocles has already been obliged to point out the darker side of his hero in the earlier exposition; he postpones until the conclusion of the play what is to be said in favor of a decent interment by the Greeks. Teucer champions his brother's cause, declaring that neither living nor dead is Ajax the subject of Agamemnon and Menelaus, since it was not under their command that he had joined the Trojan expedition, but as a free lance and his own captain, having bound himself by oath to lend his aid to whomsoever Helen should espouse. He finally relates the great military services which the mighty Ajax had wrought for the Hellenic host, especially his voluntary duel with Hector. His character, therefore, may not be viewed in full perspective, nor the right and wrong motives of his conduct completely understood, until the play is finished. It is towards the end, moreover, that Sophocles, in order to show that the reciprocity of fate was involved in the protagonist's death, reveals at length<sup>1</sup> a circumstance of the suicide at which before he had only hinted:<sup>2</sup> as Hector had been dragged to death with the girdle presented him by Ajax, so Ajax fell upon the sword that was the gift of the Trojan champion. In the *Trachiniae* there is no allusion to the magic garment which is to slay Heracles, until the wife, stirred to jealousy, determines to send it to him. Finally, not to multiply examples, in the *Oedipus Coloneus* the patricide and incest are only vaguely mentioned<sup>3</sup> until the middle of the play, when the protagonist discusses them in full to exculpate himself before Theseus in the face of Creon's vituperation.<sup>4</sup> In the earlier moments of the action he does not need to make an elaborate defence since no direct accusations have been brought against him.<sup>5</sup> The more ordinary form of exposition in the modern drama is illustrated by the play on the same theme of the French pseudo-classicist, Chénier, in which Oedipus seeks to justify himself at once by a long account of his past. This gradual manner of exposition carries with it

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<sup>1</sup> *Ajax*, 1028 ff. Nauck's rejection of these lines is only another instance of his fantastic textual criticism.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 661-665.

<sup>3</sup> *O. C.* 267 ff. and 545 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 960 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bellermann's edition of the *O. C.*, *Rückblick*, p. 156.



certain disadvantages. Inasmuch as the whole situation is not made clear at the outset, the progress of the action demands more careful attention from the spectators for comprehension, and obscurity can be avoided only by the most delicate workmanship on the part of the dramatist. There are, however, distinct compensations. The minds of the audience are not bewildered at once with a simultaneously announced heap of data, which they will waste time in extricating. Since the author does not retard the movement at the very beginning by long speeches of mere explanation, he can utilize this space for the more absorbing feature of a progressing action. The whole work gains in naturalism, since the facts are not arbitrarily massed together at the opening, but as in life itself, through the writer's art, seem to be introduced more or less accidentally. The danger of obscurity is at least partly counteracted, because the data, when they are actually presented, impress themselves more upon the hearers' consciousness, appearing at the psychological moment when they have a direct bearing upon the evolution of the plot.<sup>1</sup>

Sophocles carries this distributive method still further, dividing into sections even what exposition he gives at the opening of the tragedy. Thus in the prologue to the *Trachiniae* Deianira, in Euripidean fashion, relates her marriage with Heracles directly to the audience; immediately afterward, in the first episode, she addresses to the chorus an account of Heracles' prophecies of his approaching death. The early exposition is much more strikingly distributed between two characters in the *Ajax*. Athena describes the slaughter of the herds in the open country because with divine omniscience she alone was cognizant of the frenzied deed; Tecmessa, since hers was the only mortal eye that had observed them,

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<sup>1</sup> A typical example of the modern form of exposition I have chanced to see, as I write these lines, in the English version of Pierre Wolff's *Les marionnettes*, a play almost the only redeeming feature of which is that Nazimova has made the mistake of using it as a vehicle to exhibit her superb histrionic ability. All the exposition is grouped in the first act, which therefore contains little or no movement and would fall flat if it were not for Nazimova's wonderful impersonation of the country and convent bred wife. Sections of the exposition might very effectively have been transferred to later moments in the action. Sophocles, for instance, would have placed the old uncle's account of the heroine's simple and idyllic girlhood in the second act where it would have been much more impressive by contrast with the society woman into which she has now metamorphosed herself.

naturally recounts the deeds of madness within the tent after her lord's return from his nocturnal expedition. The composer of the second part of the argument to this tragedy realizes and comments upon the skilful form of the exposition: "Then enters Tecmessa, the captured concubine of Ajax, knowing that the slaughterer of the herds is Ajax but not to whom the herds belong. Each learns from the other that of which he is ignorant, the chorus from Tecmessa that Ajax perpetrated the slaughter, Tecmessa from the chorus that the herds are the property of the Greeks. . . . He cleverly introduces Athena in the prologue. For it is unnatural that Ajax should come forward and speak of his own deeds, as if accusing himself, and no one else knew what had taken place, since Ajax had acted in secret and during the night. It was then a god's office to elucidate fully the situation." Even Tecmessa's exposition is subdivided. First she pictures a part of the scene in vivid lyric measures,<sup>1</sup> and then relates at length in trimeters,<sup>2</sup> as in the *ῥῆσις* of a messenger, the whole story of Ajax' departure and reappearance. Such an additional distribution of the exposition makes it seem more casual and thus relieves still further the perfunctory impression which is left with the audience by the ordinary treatment of this element of dramatic technique.

If there is any fault in Sophocles' mode of exposition it is that he is too chary with it. In the *Ajax* the details of the contest for the arms of Achilles are not related, as if, like Aeschylus, Sophocles had composed a *ὄπλων κρίσις* as first in a trilogy. For what reason does Antigone return again to her brother's corpse? Must the body be kept covered with dust? Or are the thrice-poured libations necessary to the repose of his soul? At the opening of the *Philoctetes* not enough emphasis is laid upon the point about which the whole action of the drama revolves, the necessity of bringing not only the arrows but the protagonist himself back to Troy. At line 110 Neoptolemus seems to know that he must get possession of Philoctetes, but how he knew we are not told, since no direct statement is made until the speech of the spurious merchant at line 612. Odysseus or the Atridae, of course, must have told him something of the enterprise before the tragedy opens, but in any case it ought to have been made clear to the audience from the first

<sup>1</sup> *Ajax*, 233 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 284 ff.

that Philoctetes himself must join the besieging host. Towards the end, at line 1332, it is explicitly declared that the hero must consent to his return. At 612 it has already been hinted that he must be persuaded to this course; but one may then properly ask, why the attempts at force and fraud, which occupy the greater part of the drama? Sophocles himself probably had in mind some reconciliation of these discrepancies, but he is here once more careless about an explanation to his hearers. There might seem to be more excuse for a Greek playwright than a modern, because he could rely upon a partial knowledge of the general mythical outline in his audience, but as I have sought to point out in another place,<sup>1</sup> the very fact that the several writers treated the same myth with varying detail would be likely to cause confusion, as in this instance of the Philoctetes story, and would require even more painstaking exposition than in productions of the present day. If any work of Sophocles had been the second or third in a trilogy one might trust there had been an elaborate elucidation in the first play, but as far as our knowledge goes, he constructed each tragedy to form a separate entity.

Sophocles begins earlier in the story than does Aeschylus. A Greek tragedy, to be sure, depicts only the culmination of a disastrous series of circumstances,<sup>2</sup> but Sophocles represents upon the stage more of the working out of the catastrophe than does Aeschylus. Their treatment of the Electra myth affords an obvious opportunity for comparison. Aeschylus starts at once with the recognition scene between Orestes and Electra and proceeds to the double murder; Sophocles goes back and pictures at some length the sorrowful vigil of Electra and her relations with her mother and sister. One can imagine Aeschylus in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* beginning only with the king's discovery of the ghastly predicament, not tracing, like his successor, the many links in the chain which lead to the revelation. He would have made the first scene of the *Oedipus Coloneus* the entrance of Ismene to unfold to her father the recent happenings at Thebes, not depicting, like Sophocles, the details of Oedipus' arrival at Athens. One of the reasons for this divergence between the methods of the two dramatists is that Aeschylus, coming at an earlier moment in the evolution of tragedy, consumes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article on the *Dramatic Art of Aeschylus*, pp. 22-24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.* pp. 17 ff.



so much time in lyrical passages, in which he comments vividly and picturesquely upon the action, that he cannot represent so much upon the stage. Sophocles, moreover, desires a greater lapse of time, in which his personages may be submitted to the customary series of tests. There is, however, a profounder reason, rooted in the very natures of the two writers: Aeschylus conceives a drama as a single impression of concentrated terror, Sophocles rather as an elaborately and consistently developed plot.

Under the influence of such a conception of tragedy, Sophocles seeks to harmonize all details of the plot with one another and with probability. Aeschylus is less scrupulous about minutiae, intent as he is upon broad and striking theatrical pictures. The notorious instance is found in the *Choephoroi* where Electra surmises her brother's presence through such puerilities as a comparison of a lock of his hair and his footprints with her own.<sup>1</sup> Sophocles brushes away these incongruities, basing the recognition, according to his usual tendency, upon character, causing Electra to divine the truth because of Orestes' more than friendly pity for her, and confirming her conjecture by the sight upon the boy's finger of Agamemnon's ring. There were similar slight defects in the Aeschylean version of the Philoctetes matter. To the failure of the hero to recognize Odysseus and Sophocles' evasion of the difficulty, I have already referred.<sup>2</sup> I have also touched upon the improbability that the Lemnians by whom the island is inhabited, and of whom the chorus consists, should have left Philoctetes unvisited during the long ten years. Euripides retains the chorus of Lemnians, but he again indirectly criticizes Aeschylus by putting into their mouths an apology for their neglect and seeks greater verisimilitude by bringing upon the stage a certain native, called Actor, who had occasionally sought Philoctetes out. Sophocles skirts the pitfall altogether by leaving Lemnos uninhabited and composing

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<sup>1</sup> The actual ἀναγνώρισις a few lines further on may not have been so childish as Euripides in his criticism upon this passage (*El.* 527 ff.) would have us believe. It is possible that Orestes simply showed the place on his head whence the lock had been shorn and produced a garment woven by Electra which he had preserved from his infancy or actually wore another which she had lately sent him. (Cf. ed. of the play by F. Blass, note to line 231.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 79.



his chorus of Neoptolemus' ship-mates. In the *Oedipus Tyrannus* it is indeed irrational that the protagonist has not learned the story of Laius before the play begins, but as Aristotle remarks,<sup>1</sup> the irrational element lies without the tragedy (ἔξω τῆς τραγωδίας), and the action itself is virtually a perfect mechanism. The improbabilities of Aeschylus are no more shocking than some in Shakspeare, as, for instance, Orlando's failure to discern Rosalind beneath her boyish disguise; but Sophocles, eager that the framework of the plot shall form a perfect structure, will have none of them.

Unlike the playwright of the present day, who can depend upon his elaborate costumes, properties, and scenery, Sophocles has to grapple also with the exposition of what he wishes the audience to understand as the stage picture. There is no exact information as to how far setting and mechanical devices had developed by Sophocles' time; in any case, although he is said to have carried them still further than had Aeschylus, it is certain that they could not be compared to the realistic means which the modern dramatist has at his disposal. The ancient author, therefore, as I have before tried to demonstrate at greater length,<sup>2</sup> sought to conjure up before the mental vision by means of language those embellishments which the physical eye could not convey. In several instances Sophocles prefers to trust to his ability to arouse the imagination of his listeners. So in the opening lines of the *Electra* the Pedagogue outlines to Orestes the view from the palace at Mycenae:

“Son of our Captain in the wars of Troy,  
Great Agamemnon, it is given thee now  
With thine eyes, Orestes, to behold  
Those scenes thou hast ever longed for. Here it lies,  
Argos, the ancient land of thy desire;  
The sacred glade of her the gadfly drave,  
Inachus' daughter; that's the Agora  
They call Lycean, from the wolf-slaying God;  
This, on the left, Hera's renowned fane;  
And from the point we are reaching you can swear  
You see Mycenae's Golden City, and this,  
The death-fraught house of Pelops' family.”

<sup>1</sup> *Poetics*, XV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my article on the *Dramatic Art of Aeschylus*, pp. 24-27.

The double description by Tecmessa, first in lyrics and then in dialogue, of the havoc wrought by Ajax within the tent, is used to inculcate upon the imagination of the spectators the picture which could not be adequately given by the properties when the interior was thrown open to their gaze.<sup>1</sup> Again at the beginning of the *Oedipus Coloneus* there is mention of the laurel, olive, vines, and nightingales at Colonus, with the battlements of Athens in the distance, all of which would have been shown to the audience in a Wagnerian opera, especially the nightingales. Despite the more artistic achievements of modern naturalistic scenery in such productions as the *Pelléas et Mélisande* at the Boston Opera House, or the *Martyre de Saint Sébastien* at Paris by the talented Russian, Léon Bakst, our settings are never quite convincing, are often petty, and not seldom ugly; the superiority of the ancient method, where the scene was only suggested, is proved by the New Theatre Company's exquisite performance of the *Winter's Tale*.

Ibsen recalls Sophocles not only in the method of gradual exposition but also in the employment of the last part of the play to discuss the various aspects of the problem involved. In the third act of the *Doll's House*, Ibsen thoroughly thrashes out the whole subject of the proper relation between husband and wife. There is a similar debate upon the questions to which the former course of the drama has given rise at the end of *Rosmersholm*. These topics can be more satisfactorily discussed at the conclusion of the piece, because then both the characters and the audience are in full possession of the facts which have now been finally laid bare by the gradual exposition. Certain works of Sophocles conclude in a similar fashion. The latter half of the *Ajax* concerns itself with an investigation of the good and evil in the hero's constitution. At the end of the tragedy called after him, Philoctetes debates with Neoptolemus the propriety of his own return to Troy and is finally persuaded by the appearance of Heracles, who solemnly pronounces the solution of the problem.

There are certain devices that Sophocles employs to enhance the effect of terror, which, according to Aristotle, is one of the two great

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<sup>1</sup> The second account, at 296, is introduced partly in order that Tecmessa's story may not be interrupted by skipping from the departure of Ajax to the recovery of his wits.

desiderata in tragedy. He either foretells or hints at the horrors of the catastrophe before they actually occur, arousing suspense in the spectators. Tiresias in the *Antigone* prophesies the evils that are to befall Creon; in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* he prophesies the king's fate, and Oedipus himself, in calling down imprecations upon the unknown criminal, unconsciously predicts, with an irony that must have delighted a Hellenic audience, his own doom. In the *Trachiniae* Deianira announces almost at once the oracle which proclaims enigmatically the future death of her husband. In the *Ajax* there are many foreshadowings of the suicide before it becomes a reality. The spectator is thus introduced into the atmosphere of terror before the disasters themselves take place, so that when they do come the impression is all the more forceful because it constitutes a kind of climax.

Another device is the sudden and silent disappearance of some woman from the stage after the revelation of a calamity in which she is intimately involved, with the result that the audience are immediately seized by a foreboding that she is going to do herself some injury. So in the *Antigone* Eurydice departs, at the news of her son's death, to stab herself; Jocasta in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, as soon as she knows the ghastly truth, to hang herself; Deianira, in the *Trachiniae*, to take her own life in the same fashion, when she learns that unwittingly she has slain her lord. He employs such final exits particularly for women probably because their silence is more striking and more effective in transmitting the feeling of terror by contrast with the outcries and lamentations with which the sex usually express their sorrow.

A third device that Sophocles brings into service in order to increase dramatic tension is the development of a topic through a series of steps. The slow approach to the goal arouses suspense in the same way as the trick of foreshadowing the catastrophe. In the *Electra* the recognition of Orestes by the heroine is accomplished through an elaborate chain of nine separate points of advance towards certainty.<sup>1</sup> She first notices that he grieves at her sorrow; second, that he is troubled by the loss of her beauty and honorable position in the palace; third, she reflects that he is the only mortal who has pitied her; fourth, he commands her to lay down the urn which she supposes to contain his ashes, cleverly bringing into service a concrete object to drive home his meaning;

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<sup>1</sup> *El.* 1174 ff.



fifth, he tells her that she does not rightly lament; sixth, becoming more and more definite, he forbids her to call the living dead; seventh, he openly declares that the urn does not contain his remains; eighth, he announces that Orestes lives; and ninth, he reveals his identity. By a similar progression Neoptolemus in the *Philoctetes* is cajoled into the deception of the hero.<sup>1</sup> Odysseus first outlines to him the principle that the end justifies the means; he then adds the consideration that Troy cannot be captured without the arrows of Philoctetes, which can be obtained only through this stratagem; and he finally persuades Neoptolemus by tempting him with the promises of a reputation for wisdom and valor. The reconversion of the young man to the path of virtue is also attained by a series of stages, distributed through the central part of the drama. Philoctetes first wins his affection by praising his father, Achilles;<sup>2</sup> next, he makes him blush for his treachery by showing such confidence as to trust him with the precious bow;<sup>3</sup> Neoptolemus is then moved to deeper pity by the actual sight of one of Philoctetes' paroxysms;<sup>4</sup> since it is a natural human instinct to love what one is called upon to protect, and since, as Macbeth realizes when he murders Duncan, nothing is more calculated to touch the human heart than an innocent asleep, this compassion would be augmented when he watches over the heavy slumber that ensues upon the convulsion;<sup>5</sup> in adding the final dram to weigh down the balance on the side of kindness, Sophocles again shows himself an expert psychologist since, realizing the universal truth that acts of corporal mercy not only benefit the receiver but open the deeper wells of compassion in the doer, he causes Neoptolemus to minister to the suffering Philoctetes and thus to be stirred to the culminating deed of charity, the revelation of the whole fabric of deceit.<sup>6</sup> We have Neoptolemus' own twice repeated words for proof that the sense of shame has gradually been fermenting in his heart:

αἰσχρὸς φανοῦμαι· τοῦτ' ἀνῶμαι πάλαι,<sup>7</sup>

and again:

λυπηρῶς δὲ μὴ<sup>8</sup>

πέμπω σε μᾶλλον, τοῦτ' ἀνῶμαι πάλαι.

<sup>1</sup> *Phil.* 96 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 662 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 826 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 906.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 336 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 730 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 865 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 912-913.



Another excellent instance of this advance by degrees is the reluctant acknowledgment by Lichas in the *Trachiniae* of the real position, in the household, of Iole, the maiden whom Heracles has brought back captive.<sup>1</sup> Half the power of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* depends upon the dramatic tension aroused by the subtly graduated unfolding of the mystery.

As a device to stress by contrast the tragic, Sophocles introduces here and there the comic. I need not rehearse the stock examples of the guard in the *Antigone*, the messenger in the *Trachiniae*, and the Corinthian in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. To these I add a passage which, I am convinced, is to be interpreted humorously, in order that I may aid in removing what seems to me a common misapprehension of Greek tragedy as something too pure and austere to be marred by contact with the less exalted aspects of existence; even Sophocles, who ordinarily avoids the meanness of life, does not scruple to bring humor into service. The cowardice of Odysseus at the beginning of the *Ajax* must have been comic.<sup>2</sup> When Athena upbraids him he still plays the poltroon, begging her not to call the madman forth: ἀλλ' ἔνδον ἀρκεῖτω μένων. To Athena's questions, τί μὲν γένηται; πρόσθεν οὐκ ἀνὴρ ὄδ' ἦν; he replies, amusingly employing the word ἀνὴρ in another sense:

ἐχθρός γε τῷδε τάνδρῃ καὶ τανῦν ἔτι.

When she reminds him that it is sweet to laugh at enemies, he answers that such an attitude is all very well but it is enough for him that Ajax remain within, reiterating his former words:

ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ τοῦτον ἐν δόμοις μένειν.

Reluctantly consenting at last to stay, he still whispers for the audience's benefit:

μένειμ' ἄν· ἤθελον δ' ἄν ἐκτὸς ὦν τυχεῖν.

When the raving Ajax has appeared, Sophocles uses Athena's definite query about his treatment of Odysseus and his violent reply in order that by a pantomime of fright the son of Laertes may gratify the spectators' sense of humor:

AΘ. εἶεν, τί γὰρ δὴ παῖς ὁ τοῦ Λαερτίου,  
ποῦ σοι τύχης ἔστηκεν; ἢ πέφευγέ σε;

ΑΙ. ἢ τοῦπίτριπτον κίναδος ἐξήρου μ' ὅπου;

<sup>1</sup> *Trach.* 393 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ajax*, 74 ff.

The advantage of such lively touches is proved by the coldness and artificiality of the imitations of Sophocles in classic French drama or in Alfieri, which studiously exclude the comic as inharmonious to the lofty tone of tragedy. For a similar purpose of contrast Sophocles often manipulates the plot so that the chorus shall be deceived into false hopes just before the catastrophe and shall express their joy in a merry dance or hyporcheme. The examples in the extant dramas are the belief in the *Ajax* that the hero has foregone his purpose of suicide,<sup>1</sup> the expectation that because Creon has relented Antigone will be saved,<sup>2</sup> the delight in the *Trachiniae* at the return of Heracles before his plight is known,<sup>3</sup> and in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* the rejoicing at the solution of the enigma before the real truth has dawned upon them.<sup>4</sup>

Sophocles also likes to set his play against a broader background of space and time than that of the actual myth represented. In the *Philoctetes* the prospect is widened to include the whole Trojan War, for such a purpose seems to be one of the chief reasons for the introduction of the protagonist's long series of questions about the different princes who took part in the expedition,<sup>5</sup> a passage that has no direct office in the development of the plot. The replies of Neoptolemus give to the audience a kind of panorama of the events since the beginning of hostilities.<sup>6</sup> So in the *Ajax* the outlook is expanded to cover the whole Hellenic encampment by a description of the uproar that ensued upon the return of Teucer.<sup>7</sup> Sophocles felt the need of these more extended vistas, because he did not have the advantage of conceiving a play as part of a trilogy. With the same spirit in the *Trachiniae* he causes Heracles to recount his twelve labors,<sup>8</sup> and Hyllus to describe the present condition of his grandmother, Alcmene.<sup>9</sup> The dramas of Sophocles thus assume more august dimensions; the audience receive an impression of grandeur beyond the mere scope of the events depicted before their eyes.

<sup>1</sup> *Ajax*, 693 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Trach.* 633 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Phil.* 410 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* 1115 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *O. T.* 1086 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Other justifications of this passage are its possible political innuendo (cf. Ad. Schöll, *Sophokles*, 309 ff.) and its appeal to the literary knowledge of the spectators, who were tickled at allusions which they could comprehend from their reading of Homer; cf. also above, p. 90.

<sup>7</sup> *Ajax*, 719 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Trach.* 1046 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 1151 ff.

I may not conclude without a word upon the dramatic significance of Sophocles' contributions to the evolution of tragedy. Over such innovations as the increase of the chorus from twelve to fifteen, the extension of theatrical properties and scenery, and the development of the musical accompaniment, we need not stop. A more important innovation was the addition of a third actor. It is remarkable that although Sophocles brings three persons together upon the stage at the same moment, he seldom unites them in one dialogue. When at the end of the *Ajax* Odysseus appears and enters into the vehement dispute in which Agamemnon and Teucer have been involved, the latter relapses into a silence that is most unnatural upon a question in which he has just shown himself so vitally concerned. Pylades, in the *Electra*, though he is addressed, is stupidly mute. The captive maiden Iole in the *Trachiniae* preserves a silence which Sophocles explains by her overwhelming grief, but the real reason for which, as Clayton Hamilton would tell us, according to his tendency to explain the whole drama by the exigencies of the stage,<sup>1</sup> is that the author was loath to introduce a third person into the discussion. Sophocles' pretext, however, makes it evident that he was conscious of the defect and still did not dare as yet to fly in the face of convention. Even at the end of his career, in the *Oedipus Coloneus*, Antigone suddenly withdraws from the dialogue when Ismene appears upon the stage; and, on the other hand, when the two sisters have been restored to their father by Theseus, it is only Antigone who expresses her joy. Sophocles is thus reticent because he has not quite learned how to employ the third actor effectively and because he does not wish to break too violently with the conservative tradition of the drama, which was bound up so closely with religion. But these are not the only reasons, for neither does Euripides use the third actor freely. The hesitation is to be ascribed to that Hellenic feeling for sobriety which controls the whole structure of Athenian tragedy, and in this case operates to prevent whatever excessive agitation might result from the entrance of a third person into a discussion. It is the same chaste spirit which forbids Sophocles, in a heated debate, to allow one long and impassioned speech to follow directly upon another of an opposing trend, and leads him to deaden

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<sup>1</sup> *The Theory of the Theatre*, New York, 1910.



the force of the impact by inserting a neutralizing comment of the chorus between the two projectiles of language. In those few instances in which he purposely omits this precaution, the impression is all the more forceful by contrast with his usual method, as twice in the *Oedipus Coloneus* when the old man retorts first to the cajolery of Creon<sup>1</sup> and then to his accusations.<sup>2</sup>

The most important innovation is his consideration of a tragedy no longer as part of a trilogy but as a separate work of art. In Aeschylus each play is like a well-rounded act, which, though it does constitute a unit and may be judged by itself, is rather one in a series of units and acquires more value and interest when brought into connection with the others. As in the several acts of a modern drama, he prepares in one tragedy for the next: toward the end of the *Agamemnon*, Clytaemnestra begins to reveal signs of that weakened will which is to characterize her in the *Choephoroi*<sup>3</sup> and in this second play of the trilogy, Orestes slowly passes into the madness which is to be his condition in the *Eumenides*. In distinction from the *Choephoroi*, the *Electra* of Sophocles is complete in itself. As if nothing had preceded, there is a careful description of the locality at the very opening, all aspects of the several characters are fully outlined in the course of the single play, and since there is no suggestion of retribution to fall upon Orestes,<sup>4</sup> the audience would not expect another tragedy to follow. Inasmuch as in the consideration of a play as a separate entity Sophocles is an innovator, he has not quite learned, as has been demonstrated, to give a sufficiently extended exposition of preceding circumstances. Certain other qualities of Sophocles' dramatic art depend partially upon the abandonment of the trilogy form. Since he has only a single play in which to sketch his characters, he has to spend more time upon this aspect of the

<sup>1</sup> *O. C.* 760.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 959.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article on *Aeschylus*, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Aegisthus (*El.* 1498) speaks of future woes that are to be the fate of the Pelopidae, if he is slain, but the allusion is not definite enough to imply another play depicting the visitations of the Furies upon Orestes. I cannot with Christ (*Geschichte*, etc., p. 314, n. 4) see any hint of the Furies in Orestes' words after the matricide (lines 1424-1425):

τὰν δόμοισι μὲν  
καλῶς, Ἐπόλλων εἰ καλῶς ἐθέσπισεν.



drama, toward which his temperament naturally inclined him. Again, if he is going to treat within the prescribed limits a whole myth or even, from all standpoints, a part of a myth, he requires more space for dialogue than the author of a trilogy, and thus is forced into a condensation of the lyrical passages, a perfectly natural tendency, however, as drama left farther and farther behind the primitive dithyramb.

Sophocles never carries these dramatic devices into the region of sensationalism. In speaking of Greek drama, and especially of Sophocles, we have often upon our lips such a phrase as "classic restraint," but on self-examination we sometimes find ourselves unable to define more accurately the impression that we derive from reading his works. A comparison with modern dramatic versions of the same myths, however, immediately throws into clear light this salient characteristic. In the *Ajax* he will admit no such distracting interests as Poinset de Sivry, who in an imitation of the middle of the eighteenth century,<sup>1</sup> with the eternally erotic tendency of all Frenchmen, which leads Racine to introduce a mistress, Aricie, for his Hippolyte in *Phèdre*, represents Ajax in the toils of a captive Amazon, who despatches him each day on perilous expeditions in her honor and in proof of his love, as a lady does her knight in a medieval romance, bidding him, for instance, hunt lions for her in the island of Tenedos! Sophocles will not descend to such bathos. Another signal example of moderation in the *Ajax* is the brevity of the passage in which the hero's madness is depicted upon the stage, where an Elizabethan dramatist would have revelled through a whole act of insanity. There were plenty of secondary interests from Athenian life which he might have introduced in order to make his tragedy more piquant, such as rhetorical debate, which he employs, to be sure, in this play, but not to the disproportionate extent of Euripides, who likes too well to curry favor with his audience. If he seeks to entertain by political innuendo or by flattering the literary knowledge of his hearers, the passage always has also an office in the development of the action, as the questions about the Hellenic heroes

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Patin, *Sophocle*, pp. 52-54. There is a similar distortion of the mythical material in the *Philoclète* of Châteaubrun, who destroys one of the fundamental tragic elements, the loneliness of the hero, by giving him the companionship of his daughter Sophie and her nurse, in order that Neoptolemus by falling in love may have an additional motive for his kindly disposition towards the father (cf. Patin, pp. 146-147).

in the *Philoctetes*, which deepen the perspective of the background. The moderns chafe likewise beneath the restraint of the *Oedipus Coloneus* and invent melodramatic variations to enliven the action. The Frenchman Ducis in his *Oedipe chez Admète* more than justifies the adjective which is usually applied to the drama of the eighteenth century, pseudo-classic. Feeling that the stories of Oedipus at Colonus and of Alcestis are too barren separately to attract the jaded hearers of his time, he combines them, by a somewhat clever device, it is true, but with a resulting duplicity of interest: inasmuch as according to legend Alcestis had died for her husband Admetus, as a sacrifice to the Parcae, and it was decreed that Oedipus should receive apotheosis at the shrine of the Eumenides, Ducis hit upon the ingenious scheme of joining the two tales by substituting the latter character for the former, finding no difficulty in confusing the Fates and the Furies. Sophocles introduces the inhabitants of Colonus into the orchestra by the natural method of sending after them a countryman who had chanced upon Oedipus; Ducis, thinking the device too simple and the peasant or burgher too mean a figure for the strutting stage of French tragedy, throws his hero into a spasm at the name of the dread goddesses, the tumultuous outcries of which bring those in the vicinity running to the spot. This sensational touch is imitated in the *Edipo* of the Italian dramatist Niccolini. Another typical detail of the same sort in the *Edipo* occurs at the end of the third act, which recalls the "Continued in our next" after an instalment of a modern serial: as Theseus commands the restoration of Antigone, an Argive enters to declare that Polynices marching near Athens had heard his sister's calls for aid and had arrived in time to behold a Theban's sword at her neck, and the audience is relieved only at the beginning of the fourth act with the information that she has been opportunely rescued by one of Creon's warriors.

One might go on to draw the traditional contrast between Euripides and Sophocles, pointing out, for instance, how the latter scorned the appeal to mock sentimentality in which the former indulged by debasing Electra still further into a peasant's wife; but let these few among many possible examples suffice to demonstrate in what ways Sophocles might have violated plastic simplicity. For his spirit may best be

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<sup>1</sup> Beginning of Act II.

understood by a comparison with contemporary sculpture. As in the works of Phidias and his school, all superfluous ornament, even the luxuriantly figurative language of Aeschylus, all attraction of mannerism, all charm of mere prettiness, are refined away; his tragedies rely for their appeal upon the sterner, the nobler, the purer qualities of close-knit composition, a profound understanding of human character, an incisive and elegant style, and a strong, lofty, and wholesome philosophy. He stands as far removed from modern literary realism as does Phidias from the sculpture of the Quattrocento. His guiding star was what has been conceived by a great American master of aesthetics as the ideal of the artist: he aimed at Order and hoped for Beauty, as the highest reward of his effort, and the Beauty which he attained has the severity and chastity of the Parthenon frieze.





THE ATTIC ALPHABET IN THUCYDIDES: A NOTE ON  
THUCYDIDES 8, 9, 2

BY HENRY WHEATLAND LITCHFIELD

TEXT criticism has few problems, perhaps, in which the individual author's bent and surroundings make larger factors than in that concerning fifth century writers' use of the old Attic alphabet. With no intention of slighting the chronological side, I wish to present some considerations which seem to me to indicate that for Thucydides, at least, such a use is not altogether to be denied. Certainly a comparison of dates alone shows convincingly that of the spurious diphthongs *ει* and *ου* he surely represented *ου* by *O*, if not also *ει* by *E*; are there not other considerations which of themselves may go far to justify us in defending with some confidence a more extensive adherence on his part to the older character? The purpose of this paper is, then, in illustration of the natural working upon his text of Thucydides' most certainly attested Atticism, to suggest a correction of a disputed passage in the History, and secondly, without attempting in any sense a complete treatment, to urge several arguments, — in part, I believe, new, — which lead toward assuming both for Thucydides and to a certain extent for other fifth century writers a greater aloofness from the Ionic usage than is generally conceded them.<sup>1</sup>

Οὐ ξυγχωρούντων δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων, ἀλλὰ διατριβῆς ἐγγιγνομένης, οἱ 2  
'Αθηναῖοι ἤσθοντο τὰ τῶν Χίων μᾶλλον, καὶ πέμψαντες ἕνα τῶν στρα-  
τηγῶν Ἀριστοκράτη ἐπητιῶντο αὐτούς, καὶ ἀρνούμενων τῶν Χίων,<sup>2</sup> τὸ  
πιστὸν ναῦς σφίσι ξυμπέμπειν ἐκέλευον ἐς τὸ ξυμμαχικόν· οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν  
ἑπτὰ. αἴτιον δ' ἐγένετο τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν νεῶν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν 3

<sup>1</sup> This article was suggested by a reading of Rutherford's and Marchant's discussions in their editions of Books IV and II respectively. I wish to acknowledge at once the many suggestions received in its preparation from the Editors, from Professor H. W. Smyth, and Dr. K. K. Smith.

<sup>2</sup> *διὰ* is superscript before *τὸ* by a later hand in the Monacensis.

Χίων οὐκ εἰδότες τὰ πρασσόμενα, οἱ δὲ ὀλίγοι <οἱ><sup>1</sup> ξυνειδότες τό τε πλήθος οὐ βουλόμενοι πω πολέμιον ἔχειν, πρὶν τι καὶ ἰσχυρὸν λάβωσι, καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους οὐκέτι προσδεχόμενοι ἤξουν, ὅτι διέτριβον. — Thuc. 8, 9, 2-3. In this passage the authority of the MS. reading τὸ πιστόν was, to my knowledge, first questioned by Classen in his edition of 1878. Of earlier editors, some had supposed an apposition with ναῦς σφίσι ξυμπέμπειν, some an apposition with ναῦς alone; the article being in either case taken to mean 'that appropriate under the circumstances.'<sup>2</sup> Admitting the bare possibility of the syntax with ναῦς, Classen on logical grounds preferred that with ξυμπέμπειν, involving an objective construction with ἐκέλευον, in his judgment impossible;<sup>3</sup> he therefore deleted τὸ πιστόν as a gloss on ἰσχυρὸν l. 7. In his critical appendix, recanting, he suggests τὸ πυστόν<sup>4</sup> as the direct object of ἀρνούμενων. Herwerden, 1882, deletes with Classen, and so Stahl, 1883, thinking πιστόν cannot mean 'a security,'<sup>5</sup> and deriving it through corruption of a gloss τὸ ἄπιστον, in which the object of ἀρνούμενων was specified. Hude, 1890 and 1901, and Jones, 1902, while noting Classen's deletion, read with the MSS.: Tucker, 1892, accepts the apposition with ξυμπέμπειν, citing Jelf, § 580, and the stock instance<sup>6</sup> 'Ἑλλήνη κτάνωμεν Μενέλεωι λύπην πικράν. Goodhart, 1893, who rejects

<sup>1</sup> Inserted by Hude. The Vatican has καὶ συνειδότες.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Gölle, 1836: "... verba τὸ πιστόν in appositione sunt verborum ναῦς σφίσι ξυμπέμπειν, quasi scripsisset ὁ τὸ πιστόν εἶη. v. Matth. § 410, 432. Herm. ad Soph. Tr. 559, coll. v. 218. Et τὸ πιστόν recte Duk. iungit cum verbis ἐς τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, naves, quae fidem facerent sive pignoris loco essent, eos in societate mansuros. Ita Thuc. 3, 11, τὸ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστόν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν." Krüger,<sup>2</sup> 1861: "τὸ πιστόν ist Apposition zu ναῦς: Schiffe als Garantie. (Stephanus) Der Artikel bezeichnet die gehörige, erforderliche. Spr. 50, 2, 4. — ἐς τὸ ξυμμαχικόν verbindet Duker mit τὸ πιστόν. vgl. 3, 11, 1: πιστόν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν. Für ξυμμαχία stehe τὸ ξυμμαχικόν auch 3, 91, 1 und Her. 9, 106, 3. Doch widerstrebt die Stellung: auch wäre das müßig. . . ." and so Böhme,<sup>2</sup> ad loc., 1862.

<sup>3</sup> Ed.<sup>2</sup> 1885, ad loc. p. 16: "... die Garantie würde doch nicht in den ναῦς, sondern in dem ξυμπέμπειν ναῦς bestehn, wozu τὸ πιστόν bei ἐκέλευον nicht Apposition sein kann. . . ."

<sup>4</sup> 1, 5, 2 might have been cited for a similar confusion by the later hand of the Laurentian.

<sup>5</sup> Ad loc.: "... τὸ πιστόν nusquam pignus significat, sed de sponsione dicitur pactionibus et iuramentis confirmata, quae sententia, quocunque τὸ πιστόν refertur, ab hoc loco alienissima est."

<sup>6</sup> Eur. Orest. 1105.

any appositional construction, and so far follows Stahl as to deny for πιστόν the meaning of 'pledge' elsewhere in Thucydides, but thinks the sequence of thought impaired by deleting outright, contents himself with marking a corruption, and suggesting its explanation.<sup>1</sup>

To summarize: while the loose appositional accusative instanced in Eur. *Orest.* 1105, whether construed with the infinitive phrase or with the main sentence, is probably impossible for the prose even of Thucydides, certainly for the plain narrative style of this passage, yet in close apposition with ξυμπέμπειν the text τὸ πιστόν may conceivably stand as the direct object of ἐκέλευον,<sup>2</sup> its harshness somewhat excused by the apposition and by the arrangement of the words; and in any case, the construction with ναῦς alone, though logically inferior, is correct and gives good sense. Nor are the position of the words and the use of the article, while surprising, altogether unnatural in view of the precedence of ἀρνούμενων τῶν Χίων: it is rash, furthermore, whatever the stereotyped connotation of τὰ πιστά, to deny absolutely for Thucydides in the singular a general force elsewhere abundantly evidenced in the specific plural. But, after all is said, construction, order, article, and diction are alike harsh and unusual, especially in the straightforward narrative style: even after due allowance for the unrevised state of the Eighth Book, their combined effect renders it almost incredible that Thucydides intended what now stands in our text; although, since the objections can severally be met with some plausibility, they do not justify so slight a change from the MSS. (an evident difficulty in whose

<sup>1</sup> *Ad loc.*: "It must, I think, be admitted that to take τὸ πιστόν as in apposition either to ναῦς or to ναῦς σφίσι ξυμπέμπειν is very harsh if not impossible. Both the article and the position of the words are against it. . . . Further, though the context is intelligible without them, it is not altogether natural. The following sentences proceed to explain the sending of the ships on the understanding that they were asked for and sent *as hostages*. Of course this may be inferred in any case, but I think a careful reading of the whole passage produces the impression that Thucydides in the first sentence intends some expressed, as well as implied, allusion to the fact. If this is so it seems possible that the text originally ran, καί, ἀρνούμενων τῶν Χίων, ἐπίστουν, ναῦς σφίσι ξυμπέμπειν κελεύοντες ἐς τὸ ξυμμαχικόν. For ἐπίστουν, cp. IV, 88, 1, πιστώσαντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅρκοις. The comparative rarity of the word might account for the corruption, while the final syllable of κελεύοντες would easily drop out before ἐς."

<sup>2</sup> On the analogy of Dem. 48, 14 cited by L & S s.v. I, 4, and the passive τὸ κελενόμενον; cp. Aesch. *Eum.* 618.



reading is, of course, testimony to its genuineness) as that suggested by Goodhart. That is, unless some solution of the problem more satisfactory to stylistic criticism presents itself, not involving departure from MS. authority,  $\tau\acute{o}$  πιστὸν must stand and be interpreted in the traditional way.

One such solution, which seems to me correct, would make this passage typical of the condition of text produced by a mistransliteration from the earlier Attic writing: it presupposes the correctness of the most conservative view which assumes any adherence whatsoever on Thucydides' part to the older character,—the view, namely, that he did not employ  $OY = \sigma\upsilon$  spurious.<sup>1</sup> If this is right, does it not follow that here, reverting to his favorite articular infinitive of purpose, he wrote  $\text{ΤΟΠΙΞΤΟΝ} = \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu$ , misinterpreted  $\tau\acute{o}\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$  by the transliterator? whose error was due to the unfamiliarity of the verb, not lessened in its absolute use, and to the singular coincidence in form with another construction equally characteristic of his author, here inapposite.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that perhaps the most insidious "Attic alphabet error" is of the sort to produce in the text a difficulty appreciable to be sure, but at the same time not sufficiently serious to warrant rejection of the MS. reading; the application of the critical principle thus suggested has been confined within the limits of the usage  $O = \text{spurious } \sigma\upsilon$ , somewhat arbitrarily but, I trust, not unreasonably ascribed to Thucydides. It may now be asked: Are there other, though less strong, probabilities which justify us in contemplating for him additional Attic usages?<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here the Ionicism first becomes regular in public inscriptions about the year 353, half a century later than the virtually universal adoption in such inscriptions of the alphabet as introduced by Euclides: see also below, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> For the verb, cp. 4, 88, 1; for its absolute use, assumed by Goodhart (see above, p. 131, n. 1), Hdt. 8, 76,  $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$  (?), not elsewhere used absolutely by Herodotus; for the construction, esp. 1, 4 and 8, 39, 4: for similar corruptions (see below, pp. 143, 144, n. 5 *fin.*, 148) of the article, 2, 81, 4; 87, 1; 102, 4; 3, 82, 4; 6, 14; 7, 67, 1; 71, 2 (?); 8, 87, 3, and of the infinitive, 7, 63, 1,  $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron\nu$  (see below, p. 144, n. 5 *fin.*) and ? 71, 2,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ .

<sup>3</sup> In the following pages M denotes Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*,<sup>3</sup> 1900; L I the first, L the second volume of Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, 1902–1907. References to these books, unless otherwise stated, are by pages. References to inscriptions, unless otherwise stated, are to *IG*; *IS* designates the *Supplement* of vol. I, the pages of which are noted in parentheses.



Writers on the use by literary men of the Attic alphabet<sup>1</sup> have, so far as I am aware, been content to affirm either that a given author used, or that he did not use, the older character;<sup>2</sup> between indiscriminate assertion and denial may not a third and more tenable theory present itself? namely, that, for instance, Thucydides wrote the History with a system of script neither purely Attic nor purely Ionic, but compounded of the two. We know this was the practice of contemporary inscriptions: is it likely to have been that of men of letters, and in particular of Thucydides? Each writer's system, unlike the systems of many inscriptions, would, we may fairly presume, be consistent; but

<sup>1</sup> See in support of the view that Thucydides employed the old Attic alphabet, Rutherford, *Θουκυδίδου Τεράρην*, 1889, introd. lxxiii ff.; Marchant's edition of Book II, 1903, introd. xxvi ff.; and *contra*, Wilamowitz, *Μεταγραφόμενοι*, in *Homerische Vorfragen, Philologische Untersuchungen*, VII (1884), pp. 301 ff.; and *Herakles*,<sup>1</sup> 1889, vol. I, p. 126, n. 6. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, 1895, pp. 69 ff., esp. 71-73, notes certain clear defects of Wilamowitz' argument, but while disallowing it for Homer, accepts with him the Ionic alphabet for the dramatists. See further Stahl, *Quaestiones Grammaticae ad Thucydidem pertinentes*,<sup>2</sup> 1886, p. 43: "Cum optimorum librorum consensu comprobetur Th. ες pro εις dixisse (nam temere Meisterh. § 49, 5 [M 213 f.] suspicatur hanc esse antiquiorem scribendi rationem ab Alexandrinis relictam, cum nulla sint [!] indicia quibus Th. antiquiore litteratura usum esse appareat, quam ne Euripidem quidem adhibuisse eius fragm. 385 Dind. ostendit), etiam in εσω eum sibi constitisse et ne in dupliciter quidem compositis επεισ- tolerandum esse putamus."

On literary usage in general, see Boeckh, *Ueber die kritische Behandlung der Pindarischen Gedichte*, 1820-1822, in his *Gesammelte Kleine Schriften*, 1871, vol. V, pp. 290 ff.; Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 1879, pp. 106 f.; Wilamowitz, *ll. cc.*, passim; Köhler, *Die attischen Grabsteine des fünften Jahrhunderts*, in *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institutes in Athen*, X (1885), pp. 359 ff., esp. 378; Ludwich, *Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik*, part II, 1885, pp. 420 ff., esp. 425, 428; Blass, in Müller's *Handbuch*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1892, pp. 301 ff.; Cauer, *op. cit.*: on the Attic alphabet, Schütz, *Historia Alphabeti Attici*, 1875, pp. 58-61; Cauer, *De Dialecto Attica Vetustiore*, in Curtius' *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, VIII (1875), pp. 223 ff., 399 ff.; Köhler, *op. cit.*; Roberts-Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, 1887-1905, I, 103 ff., II, introd. xi ff.; Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vasenschriften*, 1894, pp. 94 ff.; M 2 ff., 20 f., 26 f., 85 ff.; L I 398 f., L 389 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, on the diphthongs, Wilamowitz, *Hom. Vorfr.*, p. 306, cp. 324 ff.; Blass, *op. cit.*, p. 302. Certainly I have nowhere found contemplated only partial adoption in literary usage of the Euclidean reforms.

that, disregarding local usage, it would be quite identical with the Ionic, which was probably used in bookmaking for the general trade of Greece,<sup>1</sup> is a supposition neither intrinsically probable nor borne out by the evidence at our disposal. It may, I think, fairly be presumed that, with all allowance for mistakes of cutting which the state thought it not worth while to rectify, the stones enable us to reconstruct accurately enough for our purpose the writing of the *γραμματεῖς* who prepared the decrees for inscription. Transference of the familiar Attic H, relieved from duty by the weakening of the *spiritus asper*,<sup>2</sup> to the sound *η* would among literary men, faddists excepted, as among secretaries, be more readily accomplished than the introduction for *ω* of the strange character *Ω*.<sup>3</sup> More significant for the usage of writers contemporary with Thucydides is that development of pronunciation traceable in the spurious diphthongs *ει* and *ου*, for which Attic E and O were not superseded in inscriptions until B.C. 376 and 353 respectively. Scarcely can literary usage have ignored a discrepancy which must, it seems plain from these dates, have existed at some time in polite speech, by however much the actual change may have preceded its reflection in the inscriptions. It follows that at some time, — for our present purpose it matters not when,<sup>4</sup> — literary men at Athens must have written spurious *ει* with the digraph EI, in this use formerly peculiar to Ionic, spurious *ου* with the peculiarly Attic O, and, therefore, must have employed a mixed alphabet. Perhaps least of them all should we expect Thucydides to have adhered to either system exclusively, in view of his acknowledged

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. L 451.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. in Greek, e.g., I, 51 S (15), where H = *η* but *ω* = O, and I, 283, 1-20, where *η* = H, *ω* = O and *Ω*; in Latin both the early absorption by C = g of the K-function, without regard to the ambiguity resulting from the assumption by C of a double meaning, and on the other hand the failure of Claudius' justifiable innovations. Of course it may be argued that a new letter would be more easily introduced than an old, fixed character change its significance; see L 438 and Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 104, there cited. But the evidence of the stones, which decide otherwise, is here rather to be followed: see below, pp. 142, 151, M 4, L 445 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Yet the full phonetic identification of the spurious with the corresponding genuine diphthongs can hardly have preceded the adoption of Archinus' alphabet by the state, much less its adoption by men of letters.

use (however motived<sup>1</sup>) of Ionic -σσ- by the side of Attic ξύν<sup>2</sup>—forms never coexistent in either Attic or historical Ionic prose.<sup>3</sup>

If, then, we grant that the pure alphabets are for literary Athens simply extremes of a development, the sequence of this, with the place therein of Thucydides, should be determined as accurately as possible. First it seems reasonable, if not necessary, to infer from the evidence of the inscriptions that Archinus' decree was intended to substitute for somewhat loose official convention a definite statutory provision; that,—following perhaps a precedent already obtaining among polite Athenian society,—he sought to banish from public inscriptions the irregularities of a constantly increasing but fluctuating Ionicism, then going beyond actual phonetic needs, and to establish conformity with Ionic usage, so far as pronunciation might permit.<sup>4</sup> What was the nature of the fluctuation which Archinus aimed to check? how far was it arbitrary, how far governed by principles more or less fixed? It was motived, we may be sure, by several considerations. Precision would be an object: thus the introduction of Η = η and Ω was promoted from the first. There would be a desire to register the loss or weakening of aspiration which perhaps by the middle of the fifth century had at Athens nearly or quite arrived at the point reached in Ionia long before. Perhaps this stage was attained earlier in the case of χσ and φσ than in that of the initial *spiritus asper*.<sup>5</sup> The entire failure of the Athenians to make use of the available Κξ and Γξ indicates that their adoption of Ξ and Υ was motived rather by the desire to get rid of a cumbersome digraph than by regard for what must, in any case, have been extreme *minutiae* of pronunciation. In the case of Λ = λ and Γ innovation or, with more conservative writers, uniformity alone can have been the motive. Conservatives, again, would be reluctant, radicals eager, to

<sup>1</sup> See Wilamowitz, *Hom. Vorfr.*, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> Cp., e.g., the forms of ξυντάσσω, 6, 98, 2; 7, 3, 19; 81, 25; etc.

<sup>3</sup> Is it not, furthermore, of some significance that whatever Gorgias' influence upon Thucydides (cp. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 313), he was independent enough of Ionism, with which historiography was identified by the precedent of Herodotus and the lesser writers, to make Ionic forms quite the exception in his History? Cp. Marchant's ed. of Book II, introd. pp. xxvii f.

<sup>4</sup> Hence the exception in practice with regard to the spurious diphthongs ει and ου; see above, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. L 452, n. 6.



adopt the strange characters  $\Omega\Gamma\Xi\Upsilon$ ; nor must we fail to allow for the difficulty of dissociating  $\Lambda$  from  $\gamma$ ,  $H$  from the rough breathing.

Any attempt to decide *a priori* which of these considerations would in each case predominate over another must result in the merest theory: we can only guess that conservative people would be slower to adopt Ionic usage in general, and in particular to adopt new characters than to give the old new significations; radicals the reverse. What, then, is our evidence with regard to the actual practice of the Athenians? In the absence of direct ancient testimony on the subject, we have recourse to the yet extant inscriptions. An interesting summary of the evidence from red-figured vases is given, with a table, by Kretschmer:<sup>1</sup> "... die Steinmetzen, welche im Staatsauftrage arbeiteten, vergassen sich zuweilen und setzten ionische Buchstaben für attische ein. Diese für die Uebergangsperiode charakteristische Mischung der alten und der neuen Schrift veranschaulichen auch die rotfigurigen Vasen dieser Zeit, von denen eine Auswahl in der nebenstehenden Tabelle zusammengestellt ist. Aus dieser Uebersicht ergibt sich die interessante Thatsache, dass die einzelnen ionischen Buchstaben sich nicht alle gleichzeitig im Schriftgebrauch festgesetzt haben. Am frühesten treten die Zeichen  $\Xi$  und  $\Upsilon$  auf: in keiner Vaseninschrift, welche überhaupt ionische Buchstaben enthält, ist  $\xi$  oder  $\psi$  noch nach attischer Weise ausgedrückt. Nicht viel jünger sind  $\Lambda$  für  $\lambda$  und  $\Gamma$  für  $\gamma$ , doch wechselt noch öfter  $\nu$  mit  $\Lambda$ , und Polygnot, der schon  $\Psi$  anwendet, schreibt seinen Namen in rein attischer Schrift. Am spätesten hat sich  $H$  für  $\eta$  einzubürgern vermocht: auf keiner einzigen der oben aufgeführten Vasen ist  $\eta$  schon durchweg nach ionischer Weise bezeichnet; es ist den Athenern offenbar etwas schwer geworden, einen Buchstaben, mit welchem sie bis dahin den Hauch zu bezeichnen gewohnt waren, nun zum Ausdruck eines bestimmten *e*-Lautes zu verwenden. . . ." That is, the vase-painters had taken the Ionic alphabet into common use long before the year of Euclides: and they were ready to employ unfamiliar characters, far more so in fact than to dissociate familiar characters from their established values; as is shown by the early use of  $\Xi\Upsilon$ , by the precedence of  $\Gamma$  over  $\Lambda = \lambda$ , and by the especially marked comparative lateness of  $H = \eta$ .

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<sup>1</sup> *Gr. Vaseninschriften*, pp. 103 ff.



Of the other considerable body of evidence, that of the stones, no summary similar to Kretschmer's has come to my knowledge; with a view to presenting such a summary, I have drawn up<sup>1</sup> a table (see pp. 138-141), which includes all the Attic inscriptions in a mixed alphabet, — disregarding aspiration, sigma, and the spurious diphthongs, — catalogued by Larfeld, with some additions from other sources.<sup>2</sup> It may therefore be assumed to be reasonably complete; or if but a selection, surely an impartial one: that in every detail it should be found free of error I cannot hope, but I have no hesitation in warranting that such mistakes as it may contain do not appreciably affect the conclusions to be drawn from it.

A brief comparison of this table with that of Kretschmer shows the evidence of the stones at variance in every particular with that of the vases. What is clear from a detailed study of the phenomena may be roughly presented in figures as follows.<sup>3</sup> The sound ξ, to leave the rare ψ out of account, is written only ΧΞ in twenty (eighteen?) inscriptions which show some Ionic usage;<sup>4</sup> only ΞΞ in three<sup>5</sup> inscriptions which show no other.<sup>6</sup> Closer study of these cases serves, I think, only to confirm the view that ΞΞ and impliedly Ψ, so far from being the earliest Ionic usages to come into common use, are, in fact, later not

<sup>1</sup> On the basis of L 389-450.

<sup>2</sup> I have examined carefully the lists of Schütz (*Hist. Alph. Att.*, pp. 58 ff.) and of Lolling (*Κατάλογος τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐπιγραφικοῦ Μουσείου*, vol. I<sup>1</sup>, 1899). The Nike inscription (Cavvadias, *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1897, pp. 177 ff.; cp. Roberts-Gardner, *Introduction*, II, n. 4, pp. 8 f.) is not included in the table, as its mixed character seems to be due to the fact that it contains two distinct hands, or at least styles, the first pure Attic, the second pure Ionic: with it may be compared I 51 S (15).

<sup>3</sup> In these enumerations artists' signatures are regarded as distinct inscriptions. No account is taken of private inscriptions, which seem in any case too few to give validity to conclusions drawn from them. As a matter of fact, in the only instance in which their testimony can carry any weight, it coincides with that of the public inscriptions: Η = η appears in three (five, counting I 403 and S (183) 418 h) private inscriptions which show ω = only Ο, Ω = ω in one (but see also I 358) which shows η = only Ε. Perhaps this paradox might be explained, were explanation needful, on the reasonable assumption that the average private inscription, while certainly in advance of public usage, would yet be more conservative than the vase paintings.

<sup>4</sup> I 93, 299, and 443 are not counted.

<sup>5</sup> Counting I 87.

<sup>6</sup> Cp., however, I 283, 1-20; 299; S (183) 418 h.

ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS WITH MIXED ALPHABET<sup>1</sup>

	<i>h</i>	$\eta$	$\omega$	$\gamma$	$\lambda$	$\xi$	$\psi$	$\sigma$	
[* <i>S</i> (181) 373 <sup>95</sup> ]	*-1	<i>E</i> 3 <sup>*1</sup> <i>a</i>	<i>O</i> 1		$\wedge$ 1			* $\lesssim$ 3	$\Theta = \phi$ 1
<i>S</i> (134) 2a		<i>E</i> 8	<i>O</i> 9 $\Omega$ 2		$\vee$ 5	+ $\lesssim$ 1		$\lesssim$	$\Omega 1 = \alpha$ 1
[358]	<i>H</i> 1	<i>E</i> 2	<i>O</i> 1		$\vee$ 2			$\lesssim$ 2	$\Omega = \alpha \vee$ 1
[ <i>S</i> (182) 373 <sup>121, 19</sup> ]		<i>E</i> 1 <i>H</i> 2	<i>O</i> 1		$\vee$ 1			$\lesssim$ 2	$O\Omega = \alpha \vee$ 1
[ <i>S</i> (90) 373 <sup>101</sup> ]	<i>H</i> 1? <i>b</i>	<i>E</i> 1 <i>H</i> 1?		$\wedge$ 1?	$\wedge$ 1?			$\lesssim$ 2	
[*418]		<i>E</i> 2 <sup>*1</sup>	<i>O</i> 1 <sup>*1</sup>	$\Gamma$ 1	$\wedge$ 1			$\lesssim$ 3 <sup>*1</sup>	
<i>S</i> (51) 505a	-1 (2?)	<i>E</i> 2			$\wedge$ 1			$\lesssim$ 3	
[ <i>S</i> (51) 507a]	-1	<i>H</i> 1						$\lesssim$ 3	
[ <i>S</i> (191) 561]		<i>E</i> 2	$\Omega$ 2	$\Gamma$ 1	$\wedge$ 4			$\lesssim$ 7	
13		<i>E</i> 8 (7?)	<i>O</i> 10 (9?)	$\wedge$ 2 (1?)	$\vee$ 5 ( $\wedge$ 1?)		$\vee$ 2	$\lesssim$	
[398].		<i>H</i> 1		$\Gamma$ 1	$\wedge$ 2			$\lesssim$ 4	
438	<i>H</i> 1	<i>E</i> 4	<i>O</i> 4		$\vee$ 3 $\wedge$ 1			$\lesssim$ 9	
440		<i>E</i> 2 (1?)	<i>O</i> 3		$\vee$ 2	$\Xi$ 2		$\lesssim$	
23a	<i>H</i> 1	<i>E</i> 2 <i>H</i> 1		$\wedge$ 1?	$\vee$ 3			$\lesssim$ 2	
[422]		<i>H</i> 3			$\vee$ 1			$\lesssim$ 5	
[ <i>S</i> (113) 491 <sup>1</sup> ]	-1	<i>H</i> 5	$\Omega$ 1	$\Gamma$ 1	$\vee$ 2			$\lesssim$ 3	
499		<i>H</i> 2	$\square$ 1		$\wedge$ 1			$\lesssim$ ( $\Xi$ ?) 1	
<i>S</i> (190) 528 <sup>1</sup>	<i>H</i> 1	<i>H</i> 2		<i>A</i> 1 <i>sic</i>	$\vee$ 1			$\lesssim$ 3	
[* <i>S</i> (183) 418h] <sup>c</sup>	<i>H</i> 2	<i>H</i> 1 <sup>*1</sup>	<i>O</i> 4		$\vee$ 2 <sup>*2</sup>	$\Xi$ ( $\Xi$ ?) 1		$\lesssim$ 2 <sup>*1</sup>	
449	<i>H</i> 2	<i>E</i> 25 <i>H</i> 1	<i>O</i> 8	$\wedge$ 3	$\vee$ 19	$\Xi$ $\lesssim$ 5		$\lesssim$	



## ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS WITH MIXED ALPHABET (continued)

	$h$	$\eta$	$\omega$	$\gamma$	$\lambda$	$\xi$	$\psi$	$\sigma$	
$\dagger^{a}_{51} S(15)$	—	$E_1 H$	O	$\Lambda \Gamma_1$	$\vee \Lambda_1$	$X \approx$	$(\phi \approx)$	W	
$S(148) 321, n. 1$	(H —)	E	O	$\Lambda$	$\vee (\Lambda)$	$X \approx$		W	
$S(148) 321, n. 2$	(H —)	E	O	$\Lambda (\Gamma)$	$\vee (\Lambda)$	$X \approx$		W	
324	(H + —)	$E(H)$	O	$\Lambda$	$\vee$	$X \approx$	$(\phi \approx)$	W	
$S(18, 126) 61a$	(H —)	EH	$O\Omega$	$\Lambda$	$\vee \Lambda$	$X \approx$	$\phi \approx$	W	
$S(68) 62a$			$\Omega_1$			$X \approx_1$		W	
$S(77, 130, 178) 331e$	(H + —)	E	O	$\Lambda$	$\vee_4 (\Lambda)$	$X \approx_1$	$\phi \approx_1$	W	
258	—1	$E_7 H_3$	$O_2$	$\Lambda_1$	$\vee_9$			W	
189 b	—	EH	O	$\Lambda_2 \Gamma_2$	$L_3 \Lambda_8$			W	
190	—2	$E_2 H_3$		$\Lambda_1 ?$	$\vee_3$			W	
146 $S(26)$		$E_1 H_1$	$O_1 \Omega_1$		$\vee_1$			W	
$S(134) 5a, 21-24$		$H_1$	$O_2$	$\Lambda_1$	$\vee_3$				
$S(134) 5a, 1-4$		$H_1$	$O_1 \Omega_1$	$\Gamma_1$					
70	—1	$E_1$	$O_2$	$\Gamma_1$				W	
$S(72) 272a$		$E_3$		$\Gamma_1$	$\vee_2$			W	
$S(79, 178) 337a$		$E_2 H_4$		$\Gamma_2$	$\Lambda_1$			W	
$[S(205) 373^{21}]$		$E_1 H_3$	$O_1$	$\Gamma_2$				W	
$\dagger^b_{443}$	$H_1$	EH <sub>1</sub>	$O\Omega_1$	$\Lambda_1 \Gamma_1$	$\vee \Lambda_1$	$X \approx$		W	
$S(110) 462a$	—2	$E_2$	$O_1$	$\Gamma_1$					
$S(186) 462f$	$H_1 ?$	E	O	$\Lambda$	$\vee \Lambda_1$	$X \approx_1 ?$		W	



[S(120) 507 b]	— I	E I ? H 3	O 2	Γ I	Λ 4		W
S(64) 35 b	H	E H I ? <sup>c</sup>	O	Λ	ν	X ≈	W
325	(H + —)	E H I		Λ I			W
*335		E 4 * I * H I		Λ I			W
[S(81) 373 <sup>20</sup> ]		E I H I					
[S(186) 422 <sup>17</sup> ]	— I	E I H I			Λ I		W
450		E H I	O		ν	X ≈	W
S(121) 521 d	H 2	E 3 H I					W
[523] <sup>d</sup>	H I (2 ?)	E I ? H I (2 ?)		Λ I ?	Λ I ?		W
106		E 2		Λ I	Λ I		W
187	H I	E 2	O I		Λ I		W
210		E	O	Λ	ν Λ I		W
S(167) 225 b	— I	E	O 2	Λ	ν 2 Λ I	X ≈ 2	W
87	— 2	E			ν	Ξ I	W
[S(119) 492 c]			Ω I			X ≈ I	W

<sup>a</sup> By two hands: the second writes pure Attic, the first as indicated in the table. The inscription contains one E by the first hand, one H by the first hand corrected to E by the second.

<sup>b</sup> The title is pure Ionic, the text pure Attic.

<sup>c</sup> A variant.

<sup>d</sup> Not certainly classified.

merely than  $\Lambda = \lambda$  and  $\Gamma$  but even than  $H = \eta$ . Again,  $\Gamma$  appears in two inscriptions which show  $\lambda =$  only  $\nu$ ;  $\Lambda = \lambda$  in fourteen (thirteen?) inscriptions which show  $\gamma =$  only  $\Lambda$ . On the stones, then,  $\Lambda = \lambda$  seems to have preceded rather than followed  $\Gamma$ . Furthermore, not to insist that  $H = \eta$  is perhaps of all Ionic usages the most commonly occurring in inscriptions which show any trace thereof, it appears in fourteen (thirteen?)<sup>1</sup> inscriptions which show  $\omega =$  only  $O$ , whereas  $\Omega = \omega$  appears in but one<sup>2</sup> inscription which shows  $\eta =$  only  $E$ .<sup>3</sup> It follows from each of these items that with secretaries<sup>4</sup> the objection to introducing new characters was stronger than that to dissociating the old from their established meanings. Just why  $\Gamma$  should have preceded  $\Xi\Upsilon$ , if such be the case, it is hard to say: possibly  $\Lambda = \lambda$  as a familiar letter was introduced for conformity's sake before considerations of pronunciation and convenience secured the adoption of the unfamiliar not to say uncouth  $\Xi\Upsilon$ ; ambiguity resulting thereupon, for clearness' sake  $\Gamma$  may have been taken over. But a complete correlation of the consonantal changes with each other and with the adoption of  $H = \eta$  and  $\Omega$ ,<sup>5</sup> is probably impossible in our poverty of evidence: it is enough to note the general principle which seems among the secretaries and engravers to have been almost universally operative, and in particular the precedence of  $H = \eta$  over  $\Omega$ .<sup>6</sup> Such proportions and conclusions may, of course, be the effect simply of that chance which has preserved for our study only a few inscriptions. I cannot but believe that they reveal a deeper meaning, that if we had the combined evidence of all Attic inscriptions the result would be not different from that so consistently indicated by the random selection actually at our disposal.

The conservative temper of Thucydides would, we may guess, bring his usage nearer to that of the secretaries than to that of the vase-

<sup>1</sup> Not counting in either case I S (183) 418 h.

<sup>2</sup> Not counting I 93.

<sup>3</sup> On the use of  $H$  and  $\Omega$  in private inscriptions, see above, p. 137, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Or with stone-cutters? but it seems more likely that these followed the copy set for them by the *γραμματεῖς*.

<sup>5</sup> It is, of course, to be remembered that all these changes preceded the general adoption of  $E| =$  spurious  $\epsilon i$ , this in turn that of  $OY =$  spurious  $ov$ : cp. above, pp. 134, 135, n. 4; L 401.

<sup>6</sup> For a similar precedence, cp. the Abu-Simbel inscriptions, L I 398.

painters.<sup>1</sup> His true status in the alphabetic development must be determined with reference to two classes of evidence: internal, derived from a study of his text, and external, from a correlation of the principal dates of his life with those of the inscriptional development; the former, as the less intangible, may first receive attention.

Of this the ideal treatment naturally presupposes, together with constant reference to Hude's apparatus, minute study of the entire text such as might discover any hitherto unsuspected errors of transliteration: I have been unable to do more than examine that apparatus, accounting on the theory of transliteration, so far as possible, for errors which, independently of any such consideration, had already caused serious difficulty. For the text of Thucydides seems comparatively free from so-called "Attic alphabet" emendations; yet such as have been suggested<sup>2</sup> I have felt at liberty to use. Nor should we hesitate, I think, to lay stress upon an emendation, however motivated, simply because it has failed of reception into conservative texts. For the same reasons which, in the absence of an alphabetical hypothesis, must prevent us from receiving any emendation of τὸ πιστὸν into the text,<sup>3</sup> no emendation similar to those which are countenanced by such an hypothesis should, unless the MS. reading were downright impossible, have been received into a reasonably conservative text. If the MS. reading were almost incredible, the text might have a crux marked; probably it should not, if the emendation were merely preferable. But it seems likely that only in extremely rare cases would the transliterator evolve an impossible reading: his error would be to choose the somewhat inferior? Hence it is most improbable that in the absence of an alphabetical hypothesis the true reading perverted by the transliterator would often, if ever, appear in a conservative text. It follows that even merely preferable emendations are worth citing, always, of course, with a discrimination of their probability.

A Thucydidean transliterator would not, we may fairly presume, fall ordinarily into errors either careless or absurd, but rather into errors proceeding from a misinterpretation so subtle as to have escaped his passing

<sup>1</sup> Cp. L 396 and 408.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., 1, 3, 2 εχειν (Reiske); 2, 76, 4 ἀνεῖλκον (Rutherford); 7, 25, 6 ἀνεῖλκον (Widmann).

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 131 f.

notice. Most misinterpretations of such a nature should be detected by a method of collecting evidence similar to that here followed: on the reasonable hypothesis of a transliteration based upon accurate knowledge of fifth century forms,<sup>1</sup> they are more likely to have occurred and therefore rather to be considered than orthographical mistakes arising either from an Atticising μεταχαρακτηρισμός or, in the confusions between η and ε more probably, from a similarity of sound; for in estimating the evidence of the variants given below it must, of course, be borne in mind that during nearly all the period of transmission, while ο and ω and perhaps even ου have in point of pronunciation stood nearer together than ε and η, yet an almost complete identity of sound favored interchange of η and ε.<sup>2</sup> The transliterator's error then will usually be, not of form, but of syntax or relevance to the less immediate context: it must, in order to admit detection, have sprung from a misinterpretation, once more, so subtle as to have escaped his notice, while still remaining perceptible to the critic. Coming to a classification of such errors, we have first to ask in connection with what characters they were most likely to occur.

Presuming a careful transliteration, we should not look to find trace of the Attic form of the consonants,<sup>3</sup> and to my knowledge none has with certainty been shown;<sup>4</sup> the almost inevitable failure to identify correctly in every case E and O involves a possibility of twelve classes of error.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Vorfr.*, p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> On these points cp. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 313 f.

<sup>3</sup> An indeterminate class, small and very subtle, of haplographies, etc., excepted: naturally this appears for the vowels also. Cp. Cauer, *Grundfragen*, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Mere possibilities are for Ξ = ξ, 3, 67, 7 τοὺς ξύμπαντας < ΤΟΞΥΜΠΑΝΤΑΣΞ = τὸ ξύμπαν τὰς: for ΧΞ = ξ, 8, 9, 3 καὶ συνειδότες < ΧΞΥΝΕΙΔΟΤΕΞ (Κ = καὶ?) = ξυνειδότες; 45, 3 ἐδίδασκε < ΕΔΙΔΑΧΞΕ = ἐδίδαξε: for Λ = γ, 2, 37, 1 δέ; 3, 45, 4 τόγε < ΤΟΔΕΛΕ = τὸδε γε; 75, 4 ὀπισθεὶς < ΟΡΛΙΞΘΕΞ = ὀργισθεὶς; 4, 20, 3 τε γνῶτε < ΤΕΝΔΟΤΕ = τ' ἐνδῶτε; 64, 3 δέ; 7, 82, 1 and 8, 24, 6 γούν < ΔΟΥ (?) Ν = δ' οὖν; 8, 92, 8 μόγυς < ΜΟΛΙΞ = μόλις; 97, 2 ἦγε < ΕΔΕ = ἦδε; not 29, 2 Λ = τρία < V = τριάκοντα.

<sup>5</sup> In each citation the reference is followed immediately by the ms. reading which is supposed to have arisen through mistransliteration. In the more difficult passages this is followed by a tentative reconstruction of the original text, this by a transliteration showing what Thucydides intended. For details of ms. readings and emendations the reader is referred to Hude's apparatus. In a note under each class are given:



I. E = η.<sup>1</sup>

1. E = η is transliterated ε. 1, 35, 4; 37, 2; 57, 1; 75, 3; and 2, 8; 1 δέ; 44, 2 ἐθὰς; 63, 1 ἀπήχθεσθε; 67, 3; 68, 7; and 74, 3 δέ; 3, 17, 1 κάλλει < KAVV EI = κάλλη; 26, 2; 48, 1; and 61, 2 δέ; 4, 93, 1 ἐπεὶ δέ; 5, 10, 10; 55, 4; and 6, 69, 1 δέ; 7, 13, 2 τε δῆ; 87, 2 δίψει; 8, 70, 1 δέ, δέ.<sup>2</sup>

2. E = η tr. εἰ. Not found.<sup>3</sup>

3. E = ε tr. η. 5, 66, 2 δῆ; 6, 89, 2 δ' ἡμῶν.<sup>4</sup>

I. Possible but improbable cases of mistransliteration; II. Possible cases of independent transliteration which indicate (A) that the distinct families of MSS. are derived through independent transliterations, or (B) that alternatives originating in one or in several parallel transliterations were recorded and thereafter perpetuated as variant readings; III. Apparent cases of mistransliteration due to certainly independent error on the part of one or more MSS. Under this head are instanced late confusions of the sounds ο and ω, η and εἰ, with other errors less easily assignable.

In the few cases where the Vatican manuscript alone has preserved what seems to be the correct transliteration, I have usually for the purposes of this paper presumed it to be either independent or the result of an emendation. The latter view is, of course, always possible, cp. Goodhart's ed. of Book VIII, introd. pp. xxxiii ff.; utterly undetermined as is the status of this MS., it is certainly not obligatory.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. I. 1, 33, 1 καταθῆσθε; 72, 2 ἀποκωλύει; 95, 1 ἥδη δέ < EΔE = ἥδη; 137, 2 ἀπομνήσκεισθαι < AΓOMNECΘECΘAI (cp. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Vorfr.*, p. 307) = ἀπομνησθήσεσθαι; 3, 114, 3 ὁμόρους < HOMEPPOΞ (cp. Wilamowitz, *l. c.*) = ὁμήρους; 4, 63, 1 τὸ ἥδη < TOΞEΔE = τοὺς ἥδη; 87, 1 λάβοιτε ἥ; 5, 34, 2 ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι < EVACCOCΘECΘAI (cp. Wilamowitz, *l. c.*) = ἐλασσώσεσθαι; 59, 3 ἥκον < EXONEKON = εἶχον ἥκον; 6, 20, 4 ἀπαρχὴ ἐσφέρεται; 34, 2 ἡ ἐξ < EXΞ = ἐξ; 48 εἰδὼτας < EEIDOTAX = ἡ εἰδὼτας; 84, 1 ἥδη; 8, 29, 1 ἐς; 53, 3 δῆ; 55, 1 ἐκ < EEK = ἡ ἐκ.

II A. 8, 48, 3 ἐκοινώνησαν < EKOINOCAN (EKOINONECAN cp. Wilamowitz, *l. c.*) = ἐκοίνωσαν.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. I. 4, 54, 1 εὐρον; 117, 2 εὐτύχει; 5, 7, 5 κεκλειμένοι; 72, 1 ξυγκλείσαι.

II B. 1, 20, 1 εὐρον.

III. 1, 71, 4 τρέψετε.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. II B. 1, 12, 3 Δωριεῖς; 13, 6 Φωκαεῖς; 27, 2 Ἑρμιονεῖς; 2, 76, 4 Πλαταιεῖς; 6, 49, 3 ἀπολειφθῆναι.

III. 8, 90, 4 χεῖλη.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. I. 2, 70, 4 ἡ; 87, 3 μῆ; 4, 33, 2 ἡδυνήθησαν, ἡδύναντο; 48, 3 ἡδύναντο; 6, 79, 3 ἡβούλοντο; 7, 19, 1 ἐπιγιγνομένου ἥρος < EPILIANOMENONOTHEPOΞ = ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους.

II A. 2, 91, 1 νῆς.

II B. 1, 3, 2 ἡδύνατο.

III. 1, 43, 3 δέχῃσθε, ἀμύνητε.

4. E = ει tr. η. 3, 18, 4 ἐγκατωικοδόμηται; 7, 30, 2 ἐγκαταληφθὲν; 8, 98, 4 ληφθεῖσαν.<sup>1</sup>

II. O = ω.<sup>2</sup>

5. O = ω tr. ο. 2, 25, 2 ἐσκεδασμένον, τετραμμένον; 34, 1 πρῶτον; 45, 1 τὸν ἀντίπαλον; 3, 34, 3 τὸν; 57, 3 ἀπολλύμεθα; 76 ἔφορμοι; 4, 78, 2 Νικονίδας; 6, 18, 4 ἄρξομεν, κακώσομεν; 7, 56, 3 μόνον; 66, 3 σφαλλόμενοι; 8, 48, 1 οἵπερ < ΟΙΓΕΡ = ὧπερ; 64, 4 ὀρθοῦσθαι; 90, 4 τὸν ἐπὶ.<sup>3</sup>

6. O = ω tr. ου. 1, 37, 4 ἀναισχυντοῦσιν; 128, 5 οὖς; 3, 40, 3 ὁμοίους; 4, 93, 1 οὐκ ἐθεώρουν < ΟΥΚΕΘΕΟΡΟΝ = οὐκέθ' ἐώρων; 7, 8, 3 οὖς; 8, 64, 4 ὀρθοῦσθαι; 99 που.<sup>4</sup>

7. O = ο tr. ὦ. 3, 18, 4 ἐγκατωικοδόμηται; 22, 3 ἐκατέρων; 45, 6 αὐτῶν; 81, 1 τῶν; 4, 106, 1 Ἀθηναίων; 5, 18, 10 Ἰσθμῶι; 7, 70, 2

<sup>1</sup> Cp. I. 1, 33, 1 καταθησθε; 7, 77, 1 ἤδη (cp. M 36 n. 193 *fin.*).

II B. 3, 92, 6 ἥρξαντο; 6, 14 ἡγή.

III. 1, 18, 2 ἔτη.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. I. 1, 3, 3 οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς < ΟΔΑΜΟΟΤΟΤΟΞ (cp. M 63) = οὐδαμοῦ οὕτω τοὺς; 42, 4 τῶι < ΤΟΤΟΙ = τὸ τῶι; 2, 21, 3 ὡς < ΕC (cp. Wilamowitz, *l. c.*) = εἰς; 96, 3 οὐ; 3, 40, 8 ὅς < ΟΞΟΞ = ὡς ὅς; 5, 34, 2 ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι (see above, p. 145, n. 1 I); 45, 2 ἀντιλέγειν < ΑΝΤΙΕΛΟΝ (cp. Wilamowitz, *l. c.*) = ἀντιλέγων; 77 and 79 passim; 6, 54, 6 τῶν < ΤΟΝΤΟΝ = τὸν τῶν; 8, 8, 1 ἐκοινωνοῦντο.

II A. 8, 48, 3 ἐκοινωνήσαν (see above, p. 145, n. 1 II A); 56, 4 < τὸ > τῶν; 83, 2 Μίλητον < τῶν >.

II B. 3, 82, 5 τυχὸν.

III. 3, 68, 1 ἀγαθῶν; 76 τῶν; 4, 10, 3 ὁ; 8, 63, 3 προτρεψάντων.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. I. 1, 62, 3 τὸ < ΤΟΙ = τῶι; 2, 93, 4 ἀπροσδοκήτοις.

II A. 2, 62, 2 μόνον; 74, 3 πρότερον; 91, 1 νηὶς; 3, 45, 2 τοῦτο; 4, 63, 1 ἀποπέμπομεν; 7, 39, 1 πρότερον; 8, 104, 4 πρότερόν.

II B. 1, 23, 1 ἔργον; 29, 3 πλοῖμους; 50, 4 πλοῖμοις; 2, 49, 5 τὸ; 81, 8, 4, 92, 4; and 120, 2 ἀποθεν.

III. 1, 7 πλοῖμοτέρων; 29, 3 πλοῖμους; 36, 3 τόδ'; 37, 4 βιάζονται; 50, 4 πλοῖμοις; 71, 1 τὸ; 84, 3 τὸν νόμον; 2, 49, 7 ἀκροτηρίων; 61, 3 τὸ; 62, 1 κομποδεστέραν; 81, 8 ἀποθεν; 3, 31, 1 τὸ; 4, 92, 4 ἀποθεν; 5 τοσούτου; 120, 2 ἀποθεν; 8, 30, 2 τὸν; 83, 2 τοῦτον; 92, 6 ὁμογνώμων.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. I. 1, 80, 4 τούτου; 8, 46, 1 αὐτοῦ.

II B. 3, 26, 1 ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν; 8, 56, 4 ἑαυτοῦ.

III. 3, 26, 1 ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν; 4, 32, 3 ἔχουσι; 64, 4 σωφρονούμεν.

προτέρων; 80, 4 ὥσπερ; 8, 4 ἀποστήσωνται; 46, 5 προθύμως; 80, 1 ὥσπερ.<sup>1</sup>

8. O = ου tr. ω. I, 84, 3 ἀνομοίως; 2, 87, 3 ὀρθῶς; 89, 9 ὥστε < OΞTE = οὗς τε (cp. 3, 58, 4 τοῦναντίον); 3, 31, 1 ἀκουσίως; 56, 7 ἔχωσι; 65, 3 φιλίως, πολεμίως; 70, 1 ἀποστήσωσιν; 5, 35, 3 ἀναγκάσωσι; 102 ὀρθῶς; 6, 48 ἀπράκτως; 7, 25, 1 φράσωσιν; 63, 4 δικαίως ἀν < ΔΙΚΑΙΟΞΑΝ = δικαιοῦσαν; 8, 48, 4 στασιάσωσι; 89, 2 στρατηγῶν τῶν.<sup>2</sup>

### III. E = ει.<sup>3</sup>

9. E = ει tr. ε. I, 3, 2 εἶχεν < EXEN = ἔχειν; 104, 1 and 4, 19, 2 πλέω; 8, 87, 4 ἐπιφανές.<sup>4</sup>

10. E = ε tr. ει. I, 3, 2 εἶχεν (see above, class 9); 2, 17, 2 προήιδει;

<sup>1</sup> Cp. I. 1, 40, 6 ἐλάσσω; 129, 3 κεκωλύσθω < ΚΕΚΟΝΥΞ (C? cp. Wilamowitz, *l. c.*) O = κεκώλυσο; 2, 21, 2 ἐωράκεσαν; 76, 4 and 7, 25, 6 ἀνέκλων < ANEYKON = ἀνέλλκων.

II A. 2, 42, 4 αὐτῷ τῷ < ΑΥΤΟΙΤΟ = αὐτῷ τῷ; 94, 3 Βουδῶρου; 3, 44, 3 ὦι; 47, 3 τῶν; 4, 38, 1 προτέρων; 55, 1 ταχέως; 6, 14 ὡς; 8, 80, 1 ὥσπερ; 89, 2 οὐ τῷ.

II B. 1, 41, 2 τῶν; 56, 2 τιμωρήσωνται; 6, 11, 7 φυλαξώμεθα; 41, 2 παρασκευασώμεθα.

III. I, 12, 2 ἐνεώχμωσε; 13, 6 υἱέως; 31, 3 βούλωνται; 36, 3 τῶν; 37, 4 τούτῳ; 122, 1 αὐτῶν; 136, 1 φασκόντων; 3, 40, 6 διώλλυνται; 68, 1 τῶν, Μήδων; 4, 19, 2 παρῶν; 55, 1 ταχέως; 6, 41, 2 παρασκευασώμεθα; 4 οἴσωμεν; 49, 2 πείσωνται; 8, 105, 3 τῶν νικησάντων.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. I. 6, 12, 2 νεωτέρωι; 36, 3 ἔμπειροι ὥσπερ < ΕΜΓΕΙ(?)ΡΟΙΟΙΟΞΠΕΡ = ἔμπειροι οἴουσπερ.

II A. 1, 62, 1 Ὀλύνθωι; 2, 42, 4 πλούτῳ; 7, 84, 4 ἀσμένως.

II B. 1, 19 πολιτεύσῳσι; 144, 2 ἀμυνώμεθα; 8, 66, 5 ὡς.

III. 1, 144, 2 ἀμυνώμεθα; 2, 6, 2 ἔχῳσι; 47, 1 τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ; 6, 12, 1 αὐτῶν; 7, 64, 1 πλευσωμένους; 8, 66, 5 ὡς.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above, classes 2 and 4; and I. 2, 21, 3 ὡς (see above, p. 146, n. 2 I); 4, 13, 1 ἔχειν < EXON (cp. Wilamowitz, *l. c.*) = ἔχον; 5, 45, 2 ἀντιλέγειν (see above, p. 146, n. 2 I); 59, 3 ἦκον (see above, p. 145, n. 1 I); 6, 13, 1 δόξει ἀν < ΔΟΧΞΕΕΑΝ = δόξει ἐάν; 21, 2 δέ < ΔΕΔΕ = δέ δεῖ.

II A. 1, 22, 4 and 23, 6 εἰς.

II B. 1, 1, 2 εἰς.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. I. 1, 2, 6 μετοικίας ἐς; 7 ἔφερον; 2, 76, 4 ἀνέκλων (see above, n. 1 I); 4, 33, 1 καθεστήκεσαν; 78, 2 καθεστήκει; 5, 11, 1 περιέρξαντες; 7, 25, 6 ἀνέκλων (see above, on 2, 76, 4); 77, 4 θεοῦ (cp. M 36 n. 193 fin.).

II B. 3, 13, 7 ἔχετε.

86, 3 διείχeton < ΔΙΕΧΕΤΟΝ = διέχeton; 3, 66, 3 κτείνειν; 4, 127, 1 διαφθείρειν; 6, 33, 4 ἀνωφελείς; 87, 4 ἀδεείς; 8, 5, 5 ἀποκτείνειν.<sup>1</sup>

IV. O = ου.<sup>2</sup>

11. O = ου tr. ο. 1, 77, 3 τὸν νόμον; 134, 4 ὁ; 2, 44, 1 ὀλοφύρομαι; 76, 2 τοῦτο; 81, 4; 87, 1; and 102, 4 τὸ; 45, 4 τοῦτο; 5 ἐπιβολὴν; 82, 4 τὸ; 102, 4 ἀμυνομένων; 4, 92, 7 and 93, 3 ἀμυνομένους; 6, 14 τὸ; 40, 1 τοῦτο; 82, 3 ἀμυνόμεθα; 7, 63 1 ἄξιον; 67, 1 τὸ; 8, 9, 2 τὸ πιστὸν; 81, 3 αὐτὸς; 87, 3 τὸ.<sup>3</sup>

12. O = ο tr. ου. 1, 132, 3 τοῦτο ἐδόκει < ΤΟΥΤΕΔΟΚΕΙ < ΤΟΤΕΔΟΚΕ (cp. M 63) = τότε ἐδόκει; 4, 31, 2 αὐτοῦ; 64, 1 ἀμυνούμενος, προειδομένους, ὥστε αὐτοὺς; 118, 4 τοῦ; 6, 102, 2 ἀδυνάτους ἐσομένους; 104, 3 παρεσκευασμένους; 7, 7, 1 τείχους; 43, 5 τοῦ.<sup>4</sup>

Summarizing, we find the evidence for E = η practically nil; for O = ω and spurious ου<sup>5</sup> considerable, if a careful transliteration is presumed; for E = spurious ει, implied in that for O = ω,<sup>6</sup> comparatively

<sup>1</sup> Cp. I. 1, 9, 3 and 3, 11, 1 πλείον; 12, 3 ἐκείνους εἶναι < ΕΚΕΝΟΞΙΕΝΑΙ = ἐκείνους ἰέναι; 4, 118, 3 and 6, 91, 5 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; 7, 8, 3 ἐπεμελεῖτο; 8, 39, 2 ξυνεπιμελεῖσθαι.

II. A. 1, 72, 1 πλείονι.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above, classes 6 and 8; and I. 2, 15, 4 τὸ < ΤΟΤΟ = τὸ τοῦ; 65, 11 πλοῦς ὅς < ΠΛΟΞ = πλοῦς; 96, 3 οὔ; 3, 89, 5 τοιούτου < ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΤΟ = τοιούτου τὸ; 5, 77 and 79 passim; 6, 8, 3 τοῖς < ΤΟΤΟΙΞ = τοῦ τοῖς; 7, 19, 1 ἐπιγιγνομένου ἥρος (see above, p. 145, n. 4 I).

III. 8, 63, 3 προτρεψάντων.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. I. 3, 12, 3 ἐκείνους εἶναι (see above, n. 1 I); 4, 63, 1 τὸ ἥδη (see above, p. 145, n. 1 I); 92, 4 τούτοις; 7, 19, 1 ἐπιγιγνομένου ἥρος (see above, p. 145, n. 4 I); 71, 2 τὸ ἀνώμαλον.

II. A. 1, 93, 6 ἐπιβολάς; 4, 35, 2 ἀμυνόμενοι; 6, 34, 8 ἀμυνομένοις; 7, 63, 1 ἄξιον; 8, 81, 3 αὐτὸς.

II. B. 1, 144, 2 ἀμυνόμεθα.

III. 1, 144, 2 ἀμυνόμεθα; 2, 91, 1 and 4, 35, 2 ἀμυνόμενοι; 6, 34, 7 ἀμύνονται; 8 ἀμυνομένοις; 7, 64, 1 πλευσόμενος.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. I. 1, 136, 4 ἐκείνου < ΕΚΕΝΟ = ἐκείνο or ἀσθενεστέρου ἐν < ΑCΘΕ-ΝΕCΤΕΡΟCΕΝ (cp. Wilamowitz, *l. c.*) = ἀσθενέστερος ἐν; 3, 67, 7 τοὺς ξύμπαντας (see above, p. 144, n. 4).

II. A. 7, 44, 8 ῥιπτοῦντες (cp. 2, 49, 5).

II. B. 3, 86, 2 Συρακούσιοι.

III. 2, 86, 3 τοῦ; 3, 86, 2 Συρακούσιοι; 7, 39, 2 ἐπιμελουμένους.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Marchant's ed. of Book II, introd. p. xxvii; who, however, thinks of it as an argument for Thucydides' use of the full Attic alphabet.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. above pp. 134, 135, n. 4, 142, n. 5.



rare but convincing. Does the position in the alphabetic development thus indicated for the History, namely, a point somewhere between the adoption of  $H = \eta$  and that of  $\Omega = \omega$ , tally with data obtainable from the external sources?

Born not later than 452 B.C., probably at least ten years earlier,<sup>1</sup> Thucydides had ended his elementary schooling by 440: what alphabet or alphabets had he then learned? A private tutor might go to almost any extreme of Ionicism. But in any case he must have acquired at least a reading knowledge of the Attic characters; and if, as seems far more likely, he followed the custom of well-born Athenians and with other boys attended the class of a *grammatistes*, the possibility that he may have read Homer in Ionic letters is more than counterbalanced by the practical certainty that he learned to write as well as read a rather conservative school Attic alphabet. For after a half century of development probably not more radical than that of inscriptional usage, Archinus could find it advisable to specify that schools must thenceforth give instruction in the Ionic system<sup>2</sup>: whether or not the decree was in confirmation of an already established practice, whether or not it provided for the exclusion of the old alphabet, we are not told; it must, however, have had reference to professional *grammatistai*, and can hardly fail to point to some backwardness among a calling proverbially slow to adopt new methods: nor from such indications as we possess with regard to Thucydides' family, is it likely that he received less than respectably conservative training in language.

He began the notes for his History in 431; the actual composition, according to Ullrich, ten years later, according to the less probable theory of Classen in 404. The latter date only need be considered, since from 424 the twenty years' exile, spent doubtless for the most part in the retirement of his Thracian estates,<sup>3</sup> practically isolated the historian from Athenian society. Thucydides' alphabet, if indeed beginning the History before 404 he employed the Attic in its composition,

<sup>1</sup> Pamphila's dating, about 470, is at once the earliest and the best supported.

<sup>2</sup> See Usener, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXV (1870), p. 591; Kretschmer, *Gr. Vaseninschriften*, p. 106, n. 2; L 453 nn. 9 *fin.*, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Classen's edition of Book I, 1897<sup>4</sup>, revised by Steup, introd. pp. xxvi f.; Wilamowitz, *Hom. Vorfr.*, p. 313.

— we have seen that he may have been familiar with the Ionic,<sup>1</sup>— was not more modern than the literary Attic of 424, probably not more than that of 431. But the strongest advocates of 404 as the first date of actual composition admit that long passages had previously been worked into a form practically final; nor is it likely that Thucydides the ultra-conservative should at the verge of seventy have changed his handwriting to suit a mode which upon his return to the new Athens he found had become approved usage there in his absence.

In ascertaining the inscriptional evidence for literary usage during the period between 470 and 424, the ideal procedure, once more, involves a complete review and tabulation of the comparative frequency in both public and private inscriptions of Attic and of Ionic forms from the introduction of these. The investigations of Köhler<sup>2</sup> have made clear that with regard to their employment of Ionic forms Attic inscriptions fall into three fairly distinct classes: sepulchral, votive, and public inscriptions proper. "... Die mitgetheilten Texte beweisen, dass das jonische Alphabet in Athen um die Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts für private Aufzeichnungen auf Stein verwandt worden ist; es kann nicht wohl anders gedacht werden, als dass es in den litterarisch gebildeten und thätigen Kreisen schon in der vorhergehenden Epoche im Gebrauch gewesen ist. Wenn daher die Weihinschriften in attischem Alphabet bis an das Ende des fünften Jahrhunderts herabreichen, so ist daraus zu schliessen, dass man für die zur Aufstellung in öffentlichen Heiligthümern bestimmten Aufzeichnungen andern Grundsätzen gefolgt ist und an der alten Schrift festgehalten hat, so lange der Staat sich derselben für seine amtlichen Aufzeichnungen bediente. Dagegen giebt es eine andere Classe von Denkmälern, welche genau dieselben Erscheinungen der Schrift aufweist wie die Grabsteine aus der nachpersischen Zeit und von diesen nicht getrennt werden kann. Auf rothfigurigen Vasen findet man ... attische und jonische Zeichen in den Formen der Uebergangszeit neben einander verwendet. ... Grabinschriften in attischem Alphabet und vollkommen regelmässiger Schrift sind nicht vorhanden. ... Auf den Steinen der Uebergangszeit überwiegt das jonische Alphabet. Alles drängt zu dem Schluss, dass dieses spätestens

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> *Att. Grabsteine*, esp. pp. 358-361, 378-379; cp. L 450.

seit dem Anfang des peloponnesischen Krieges in Attika allgemein in den Grabinschriften angewendet worden sei.”<sup>1</sup> That the early use in grave inscriptions of the Ionic alphabet<sup>2</sup> necessarily implies its contemporary or still earlier adoption by the literary classes, and by Thucydides in particular, is surely questionable. Individual conservatism has, in each instance, to be reckoned with, nor are literary men as a class always the first to acquiesce in spelling reform. In any case, the number of sepulchral and votive inscriptions which anticipate the Euclidean changes is too small to render an experiment at dating the appearance in them of Ionic usages at all conclusive: I attempt only to approximate very roughly the dates of such appearances in public inscriptions. These dates, of course, so far from being taken *a priori* to fix the corresponding dates for Thucydides, are rather to be regarded as the last limit of their respective usages; certainly for this object they are valid, and probably also as indications of the order in which conservative Athens adopted the Ionic forms. (See table, p. 152.)

From such approximations it seems at least reasonable to infer that of Ionic forms Thucydides may have employed only  $H = \eta$  and certain consonants; but all calculation is, of course, rendered uncertain by the discrepancy, capable of infinite extension, which is presumed to have existed between the usage of even private inscriptions and that of the Athenian literary circle. Yet the much-cited Callias must have been withal something of a fancier in alphabets.<sup>3</sup> A fragment of Euripides’ *Theseus* affords evidence for a contemporary popular usage  $H = \eta$ <sup>4</sup>; nor is the *Theseus* among the latest plays. But it is interesting to ask whether, even if it were, the anachronism of  $H = \eta$  on an Attic hero’s shield can have escaped the audience: and there have been more extreme reactionaries than Euripides. Further, according to a scholiast, who may have erred in extending the application of a predecessor’s note, even Euripides wrote  $O = \omega$ . The scholium in question<sup>5</sup> deals

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 378 f.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that a considerable proportion of the epitaphs cited by Köhler are of other than native Attic citizens; see esp. pp. 367 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Ath. 7, 276 A; 10, 454: L 430.

<sup>4</sup> See Ath. 10, 454 B; Wilamowitz, *Hom. Vorfr.*, p. 303; Blass, in Müller’s *Handbuch*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1892, p. 303; L *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> See Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Euripidis Tragoedias*, 1863; vol. III, pp. 191 f.; Gardthausen, *Gr. Palaeographie*, p. 107.

## APPEARANCE OF IONIC FORMS IN ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS \*

Appears First		Rarely	Frequently	Regu- larly
$h$ omitted <sup>1</sup>	575-525 <sup>2</sup> /470-460 <sup>3</sup>	485 <sup>4</sup> /470 <sup>5</sup>	470 <sup>6</sup> /450 <sup>7</sup>	403
$H = \eta$ <sup>8</sup>	525-480 <sup>9</sup> /480-447 <sup>10</sup>	465 <sup>11</sup> /425 <sup>12</sup>	410 <sup>13</sup>	403
$\Omega = \omega$ <sup>8</sup>	480-460 <sup>14</sup> /500-475 <sup>15</sup>	445 <sup>16</sup> /430 <sup>8 12</sup>	405 <sup>8 12</sup>	403
$\Lambda = \lambda$ <sup>17</sup>	472 $\pm$ ? <sup>18</sup> /soon after 431 <sup>19</sup>	460 <sup>20</sup> /420 <sup>12</sup>	412 <sup>12</sup>	403
$\Gamma$ <sup>17</sup>	472 $\pm$ ? <sup>18</sup> /431-426 <sup>21</sup>	460 <sup>22</sup> /410 <sup>23</sup>	407 <sup>23</sup>	403
$\Xi$ <sup>17</sup>	480-447 <sup>24</sup> /480-450 <sup>25</sup>	430 <sup>26</sup> /—	410 <sup>27</sup>	403
$\Upsilon$ <sup>17</sup>	480-460 <sup>28</sup>	430 <sup>29</sup>	410 <sup>27</sup>	403
$E  = \text{sp. } \epsilon$ <sup>30</sup>	575-525 <sup>31</sup> /soon after 575 <sup>32</sup>	525 <sup>31</sup> /430 <sup>33</sup>	445-403 <sup>34</sup> /403 <sup>35</sup>	376 <sup>36</sup>
$OY = \text{sp. } \text{ov}$ <sup>37</sup>	500-480 <sup>38</sup> /480-445 <sup>39</sup>	445-403 <sup>34</sup> /410 <sup>12</sup>		353 <sup>40</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M 85. False aspiration first 600-575 (IS (41) 373 b 2, L 394 f.) / soon after 575 (IGA 492, L 399).

<sup>2</sup> IS (101) 373 <sup>214</sup>, L 404.

<sup>3</sup> I 13, S (140) 26 a, L 438. Cp. IS (137) 18-19, L 422; IS (3, 133) 1, L 436.

<sup>4</sup> L 422, 433.

<sup>5</sup> L 436, 438.

<sup>6</sup> L 435, 437.

<sup>7</sup> L 433, 441-444.

<sup>8</sup> M 4, which omits all the earlier instances of  $H = \eta$ .

<sup>9</sup> IS (182) 373 <sup>121</sup>, (97) 373 <sup>177</sup>, L 429.

<sup>10</sup> I 23, L 442; cp. IS

(51) 507 a, L 434, 436, 441.

<sup>11</sup> L 434, 436, 438.

<sup>12</sup> L 449.

<sup>13</sup> L 442, 449.

<sup>14</sup> IS (191) 561, L 438; cp.  $\Omega = \text{ov}$  (?) I 358, S (182) 373 <sup>121</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> IS (134) 2 a ( $\Omega = \omega$ ) and  $\omega$ ), L 428; cp. IS (191) 561, L 438.

<sup>16</sup> L 442, 444.

<sup>17</sup> M 5.

<sup>18</sup> I 418, L 434.

<sup>19</sup> I 443, L 449; but cp. I 438, L 439; IS (51) 505 a, L 436.

<sup>20</sup> L 438 f.

<sup>21</sup> I 40, 443, L 448.

<sup>22</sup> L 438 f., 442.

<sup>23</sup> L 448.

<sup>24</sup> IS (183) 418 h, L 441 f.

<sup>25</sup> I 440, L 434, 439.

<sup>26</sup> L 444, 446.

<sup>27</sup> L 447.

<sup>28</sup> I 13, L 434, 437.

<sup>29</sup> L 446 f.

<sup>30</sup> M 20.

<sup>31</sup> L 407.

<sup>32</sup> IGA 492, L 401, 407.

<sup>33</sup> M 21 n. 110.

<sup>34</sup> L 450.

<sup>35</sup> L 445.

<sup>36</sup> L 456.

<sup>37</sup> M 26.

<sup>38</sup> I 360, L 429; cp. I 483, L 408.

<sup>39</sup> I 31 A, L 444.

<sup>40</sup> L 462.

\* When two dates are given, the former is for private inscriptions.



with a variant in *Phoen.* 682: σοί νιν ἔκγονοι] γράφεται καὶ “σῶι νιν ἔκγονοι κτίσαν,” ἔν’ ἢ τῶι ἔκγονοι σου, τῶι Κάδμωι, αἱ θεαὶ κατέκτισαν τὰς Θήβας. γέγονε δὲ περὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀμάρτημα. ἕως ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθηνῆσιν Εὐκλείδου, μήπω τῶν μακρῶν εὐρημένων, τοῖς βράχεσιν ἀντὶ τῶν μακρῶν ἐχρῶντο τῶι ε ἀντὶ τοῦ η καὶ τῶι ο ἀντὶ τοῦ ω. ἔγραφον οὖν τὸ δῆμωι μετὰ τοῦ ι (*sic*) δῆμοι. μὴ νοήσαντες δὲ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν γραφὴν ἔστι καὶ δεῖ μεταθεῖναι τὸ ο εἰς τὸ ω, ἐτάραξαν τὸ νοητόν. Of course the writing δῆμοι may be simply the result of a stupid or careless failure to apply the first half of the principle stated just above; it may be something more, and in contemplation of the exact counterpart ΔΗΜΟΙ occurring repeatedly in public inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> one finds difficulty in regarding it otherwise. Finally, may not there be deduced from the vase of Duris,<sup>2</sup>—testimony in any case valid only for an East Aegaeon dialect,—new and startling functions of the ethical dative? But when all is said, there still remains the dangerous possibility that literary Athens of the fifth century may have been innovative, that Thucydides’ conservatism may have been too much stressed; and we look for a test, based on some process reasonably parallel to a phonetic development, by which to measure with some accuracy, if possible, the historian’s anticipation (supposing he Atticized at all) of inscriptional reforms. Such a test presents itself in the form of a comparison between his text,—which here rests on authority so far as I am aware universally accepted,<sup>3</sup>—and the inscriptions with respect to their use of ξύν, summarized by Meisterhans<sup>4</sup> as follows:

460–410 B.C. ξύν: σύν = 75:21

410–403 B.C. ξύν: σύν = 9:50

So far in advance of inscriptional practice may Thucydides, from our best determinative evidence, be presumed to stand that he uses not at

<sup>1</sup> E.g., I 51 S (15).

<sup>2</sup> See Kretschmer, *Gr. Vaseninschriften*, pp. 104 f.; L. 430.

<sup>3</sup> See “Marcellinus,” Life, 52; Stahl, *Quaest. Gramm.*, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 220 f.: “Von 403 an trifft man ξύν nur noch vereinzelt in Ausdrücken wie ξυνάρχοντες, ξυμβάλλεσθαι, ξύμβολον, ξυμβολή, ξύμμαχος. Seit 378 hört auch dieser Gebrauch auf und ξύν erhält sich nur noch in der formelhaften Wendung γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ . . . in und mit welcher Formel ξύν sich bis ins I. Jahrhundert v. Chr. behauptet.” Cp. the persistence of H = h in HOPOΞ (M 6, L 452).

all an Ionic form which in public inscriptions appeared with frequency by 410, regularly by 403, and except in a single recurring formula altogether supplanted its Attic equivalent by 378, two years before the general adoption of  $\epsilon\iota$  = spurious  $\epsilon\iota$ , and twenty-five years before that of  $\omicron\upsilon$  = spurious  $\omicron\upsilon$ .<sup>1</sup> It follows from a comparison of the dates of both occasional and regular appearance that of Attic forms Thucydides may well have used  $\omicron = \omega$ ,  $\nu, \lambda = \gamma$ ,  $\chi \xi$ , and  $\phi \xi$ , possibly even  $\eta = \iota$  and  $\epsilon = \eta$ ; that he certainly used  $\epsilon$  and  $\omicron$  in the diphthongs.<sup>2</sup> For the last survival of Attic writing,  $\omicron = \omicron\upsilon$  spurious, a margin of fifty years is attested.

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Thucydides' use of *alel* ("Marcellinus," 52; M 31, 33): see Marchant's ed. of Book II, introd. pp. xxvi f. On the other hand, use of  $-\sigma\sigma- = -\tau\tau-$ , an Ionism which never found its way into Attic prose, is incapable of measurement as an index to the place of an Attic historian in an Attic development; but cp. above, pp. 135 with n. 3, 149 *fin*. If, however, this use is made an argument for that of the Ionic alphabet also in the History, it is to be noted that the argument is independent of other considerations here advanced, and as such does not affect their validity.

<sup>2</sup> Have we not, in brief, to recognize that in the Athens of 430 there existed a condition of spelling reform not very much farther advanced than exists at present in eastern Massachusetts? namely, tradespeople and artists employing, with greater or less freedom, a "simplified spelling," ignored by the state in school and record, and by the large majority of men of letters either unused or tolerated for occasional writing only. Shakespeare and Milton are presented to the schoolboy in seventeenth century orthography; their irregular spellings are pointed out and explained to him; he is told that the period represents the best attainment of English literary genius: but where shall you find the school which permits, much less encourages him to imitate such of those spellings as are included among the Three Hundred Words? Nor in the transaction of public business has the Commonwealth ever accepted a departure from established usage: for information about the practice of the several departments I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Francis T. Crafts, of the Department of State.

## FURTHER NOTES ON SICILIAN TRANSLATIONS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

BY CHARLES H. HASKINS

TWO years ago Professor Lockwood and I, in a paper published in this series of *Studies*,<sup>1</sup> endeavored to put together what was known concerning the Sicilian translators of the twelfth century and to bring out certain new facts concerning these men and the movement of which they formed a part. In view of the general acceptance which the results of our investigations seem to have met,<sup>2</sup> it seems appropriate to call attention to some matters which have come out in the course of the subsequent discussion and to add certain supplementary material which has since come to light.

The starting-point of the previous study was the discovery in the library of the Vatican, in the spring of 1909, of a complete Latin version of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, produced, as appeared from the preface, about 1160 in Sicily from a Greek original which had recently been brought from Constantinople as a present from the Emperor to King William I. About the same time, and independently, Björnbo announced that he had found in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence a Latin translation of the same treatise, defective at the beginning, so that there was no indication of the date, but written in a hand which pointed to southern Italy as the place of its origin.<sup>3</sup> The identity of the version contained in these two manuscripts became evident from the

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<sup>1</sup> *The Sicilian Translators of the Twelfth Century and the First Latin Version of Ptolemy's Almagest*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXI, pp. 75-102.

<sup>2</sup> See, particularly, Heiberg, *Noch einmal die mittelalterliche Ptolemaios-Uebersetzung*, in *Hermes*, XLVI, pp. 207-216; Paul Marc, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XIX, pp. 568, 569; Bresslau, in *Neues Archiv*, XXXVI, p. 304; and the description of MS. 2056 in the new catalogue of *Codices Vaticani Latini*.

<sup>3</sup> Conventi Soppressi, MS. A, 5, 2654. See *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, I, p. 392 (= *Festschrift Moritz Cantor anlässlich seines achtzigsten Geburtstages gewidmet*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 100).

extracts from the Florentine manuscript published by Heiberg,<sup>1</sup> who showed that the text followed closely, but through an intermediate copy, the fine manuscript of the tenth century now preserved at Venice (Marcianus 313, C of Heiberg's edition); and our publication of the preface led him to the further conclusion<sup>2</sup> that this must have been the very codex brought to Palermo by Aristippus, from whom he conjectures it passed into the possession of King William and his Hohenstaufen successors and, after the battle of Benevento, into the papal library. Heiberg accepted, in all essential particulars, the conclusions which we had drawn from the preface, which he emended at certain points and elucidated with reference to the ecclesiastical opposition to mathematical studies.<sup>3</sup>

As the result of a visit to the Vatican in June, 1911, I can now add a third manuscript of the Sicilian translation of the *Almagest* (MS. Pal. 1371, ff. 41-97v), complete as far as VI, 10, and containing the preface. This copy is, like the two others, of the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, and thus offers further evidence of the popularity of the Sicilian version. It seems superior to Vat. Lat. 2056 in accuracy and in the mechanical execution of the illuminations; the chapter headings correspond in the two manuscripts, but the Palatine omits some of the tables. The text of the prologue in the Palatine manuscript justifies the various emendations proposed by the editors and by Heiberg and Sabbadini, but there are no specially significant variants,<sup>4</sup> and the scribe seems to have tried to improve the text, espe-

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<sup>1</sup> *Eine mittelalterliche Uebersetzung der Syntaxis des Ptolemaios*, in *Hermes*, XLV, pp. 57-66 (1910).

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes*, XLVI, pp. 207-216.

<sup>3</sup> In line 20 he is undoubtedly right in connecting *veterum lima, speculum moderatorum* with what follows rather than with what precedes. The identification of the *vir discolus* of l. 38 with Eugene is likewise probable, though not certain. We are further indebted to Professor Sabbadini for certain emendations which are acknowledged below.

<sup>4</sup> Omitting unimportant variations of spelling, such as *c* for *t*, the variants are as follows: 1. *Iam*] *eam* (so also Sabbadini). — 3. *Moriter*] *memoriter*. — 5. *boni*] *bone*] *memoror*] *memor*. — 11. *promerri*] *promereri*. — 16. *ut tua*] *tua ut*] *minus precedit*] *precedit minus*. — 19. *quandam*] *quendam* (so also Sabbadini) || *pontem prestruere*] *prestruere pontem*. — 21. *scientie om.* — 27. *multumque desiderate*. — 29, 30. *Perguse prope fontem*] *prope Pergusam fontem*. — 35. *aggressus om.* — 36.



cially in the order of words. The only new contribution is the following note, written in an Italian hand of the fifteenth century in the margin opposite the title: *Translatus in urbe Panormi tempore regis Roggerii per Hermannum de Greco in Latinum*. At first sight this appears to give us the name of the anonymous translator, but I fear the statement cannot be accorded much weight. It has been previously pointed out<sup>1</sup> that the relations between King Roger and the Greek emperors were anything but friendly, so that the envoys who visited Constantinople in 1143-44 could hardly have brought back a valuable manuscript as a present, nor was Aristippus, so far as we know, as yet a man of sufficient importance to be entrusted with so high a mission. It is, of course, possible that the translator's name was Hermann, but the statement more probably took its origin from a confusion with Hermann the Dalmatian, the translator in 1143 of Ptolemy's *Planisphere*, whose literary labors belong to Spain and not to Sicily.<sup>2</sup>

gratia providente] providente gratia || tan] tam. — 39. mens mea] mea mens. — 41. repetitionem] repeticione. — 43. relinqui] reliqui. — 43, 44. est et decori] et dedecori est. — 45. non ullos] non nullos. — 46. indices] iudices. — 48. qui expers est ipsius] qui eius expers est. — 49. instant artibus] artibus instant. — 50. imminē] imminere. — 53. concedentes] contententes (so also Heiberg and Sabbadini). — 54. gravi] graviori. — 62. astronomie] astrorum. — 64. iuvandum] viandum. — 67. pensundate] pessundate. — 71. detestabilius] delectabilius (so also Heiberg). — 72. illicitam] illicitum. — 77. nisi] ni. — 79. constitutus] institutus. — 81. serenaretur] serenarent. — 84. illuminantur] illuminant. — 85. exercitatione] exercitate. — 88. volimine] molimine . . . sine omni (so also Heiberg). — 91. involvant] involant. — 93. despuunt] despiciunt. — 94. vir mentis serenissime] mentis serenissime vir. — 97. habitudinis] beatitudinis || existit] consistit. — 100. predarum] preclarum. — 101. animalibus] animalibus || premittere] prenitere. — 102. incubendum] incumbendum. — 104. tui ergo tibi] tuique tibi. — 106. mea michi] mihi mea || exultent] insultent. — 111. elaboratum] elaborat. — 113. esse docendis] es edocendis. — 114. admittas] adimitas || abicias] abigas. — 115. communicaverit indignis] indignis communicaverit.

Professor Sabbadini has been kind enough to point out that lines 100 and 101 contain an allusion to Cicero, *De Inventione*, I, 4.

<sup>1</sup> *Harv. Stud.* XXI, p. 81. On Roger's relations with the Greek empire, see also Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, pp. 160-170, 172, 258 f., 317-323, 330-342 (1912).

<sup>2</sup> On Hermann, see Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen âge* (Paris, 1895), pp. 189 ff.; Steinschneider, in *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Kl., CLXIX, pp. 33, 34; Björnbo, *Hermannus Dalmata als Uebersetzer astronomischer Arbeiten*, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, third series, IV, pp. 130-133 (1903).

Before he attempted the difficult matter of the *Almagest*, the Sicilian translator tells us that he tried his hand at the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica* of Euclid and the *De Motu* of Proclus.<sup>1</sup> The three works of Euclid were well known in the Middle Ages in Latin versions made from the Greek,<sup>2</sup> and the way in which they are here mentioned makes it probable, not only that these versions come from Sicily, but that they are the work of the translator of the *Almagest*. The same argument applies to the treatise of Proclus, *Στοιχείωσις φυσικὴ ἢ περὶ κινήσεως*, which was generally known in Latin as the *Elementatio Philosophica* or *Elementatio Physica*. An incomplete Latin version is extant in MS. Q. 290 of the Stadtbibliothek at Erfurt<sup>3</sup> and in MS. Lat. 6287 of the Bibliothèque Nationale,<sup>4</sup> and as the Erfurt manuscript is of northern origin and not later than ca. 1400, the translation which it contains must be anterior to the Renaissance. That this was made directly from the Greek is evident from the transfer of such words as *omogenes* and from the lettering of the demonstrations, where *abgdez* represent *αβγδεζ*, as well as from the closeness with which the Greek text is followed. The verbal literalness characteristic of mediaeval renderings from the Greek may be seen from the following specimen: —

INCIPIE ELEMENTACIO PHILOSOPHICA<sup>5</sup> PROCLI

Continua sunt quorum termini unum. Contingentia sunt quorum termini simul. Deinceps sunt quorum nihil medium omogenes, id est congruatum. Primum est tempus mocionis, quod nec plus nec minus mocione. Primus est locus, qui nec maior contento corpore nec minor. Quiescens est prius sicut posterius in eodem loco existens et totum et partes.

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 33, 34: Primo quidem in Euclidis Dedomenis, Opticis, et Catoptricis, Philosophicaque (MS. ph'ica) Procli Elementatione preluſi.

<sup>2</sup> *Harv. Stud.* XXI, pp. 85, 86; supplemented for the *Data* by Björnbo, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, I, p. 390. The view that they are the work of the translator of the *Almagest* is accepted by Heiberg, in *Hermes*, XLVI, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> Ff. 83v-86. Cf. Schum, *Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung*, p. 530.

<sup>4</sup> Ff. 21-22v, of the fifteenth century. The two MSS. are based on the same Greek text, which is defective at the close of Book I, and breaks off with II, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Both MSS. have ph'ica here, but the Erfurt MS. has philosophica in the *explicit*.

(1) *Duo individua non contingunt se invicem.* Si enim possibile, sint duo individua  $\overline{ab}$ , contingent<sup>1</sup> se invicem. Contingentia vero erant quorum termini in eodem; duo ergo partium<sup>2</sup> termini erunt, hoc autem impossibile. Non ergo erant  $\overline{a}$  et  $\overline{b}$ .

(2) *Duo individua continuum nihil faciunt.* Si enim possibile, sint duo individua  $\overline{a}$  et  $\overline{b}$  et faciant<sup>3</sup> continuum quod est ex ambobus. Sed omnia continua contingunt se prius adinvicem, ergo se contingunt  $\overline{ab}$  individua existentia, quod est impossibile. Aliter: si est continuum ex  $\overline{ab}$  individuis, vel totum totum contingit, vel totum partem, vel partes partem. Sed si totum partem vel partes partem, non erunt individua  $\overline{ab}$ . Si vero totum totum contingit, non erunt individua sed supponetur tantum. Si ergo non erit  $\overline{a}$  continuum, nec vero  $\overline{b}$  et  $\overline{a}$  erunt continuum totum totum contingens.<sup>4</sup>

If it be objected that a work of this sort could scarcely be translated otherwise, the freer style of the Renaissance may be seen in the version of Spiritus Martinus Cuneas, printed at Paris in 1542: <sup>5</sup>

Continua sunt quorum termini sunt unum. Contigua sunt quorum termini sunt simul. Deinceps sunt inter que nihil est eiusdem generis.

<sup>1</sup> Erfurt: contingunt.

<sup>2</sup> Based doubtless upon a text which had μέρων instead of ἀμερῶν.

<sup>3</sup> Paris: faciunt.

<sup>4</sup> As the printed text of the *De Motu* (Paris, 1542) is not well known, I give for convenience of comparison the opening portion of the treatise from the text of Harleian ms. 5685 of the British Museum (saec. xii): (f. 133) Συνεχὴ ἐστὶν ὧν τὰ πέρατα ἔν· ἀπτόμενά ἐστιν ὧν τὰ πέρατα ἄμα· ἐφεξῆς ἐστὶν ὧν μηδὲν μεταξὺ ὁμογενές. πρῶτός ἐστι χρόνος κινήσεως, ὃ μήτε πλείων μήτε ἐλάττων τῆς κινήσεως. πρῶτός ἐστι τόπος, ὃ μήτε μείζων τοῦ περιεχομένου σώματος μήτε ἐλάττων. ἡρεμοῦν ἐστὶ τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ὃν καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ μέρη.

(1) Δύο ἀμερῇ οὐχ ἄψεται ἀλλήλων. εἰ γὰρ δυνατόν, δύο ἀμερῇ τὰ  $\overline{a\bar{u}}$  ἀπτέσθωσαν ἀλλήλων· ἀπτόμενα δὲ ἦν ὧν τὰ πέρατα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, τῶν δύο ἄρα ἀμερῶν πέρατα ἔσται· οὐκ ἄρα ἦν ἀμερῇ τὰ  $\overline{a\bar{u}}$ .

(2) Δύο ἀμερῇ συνεχές οὐδὲν ποιήσει. εἰ γὰρ δυνατόν, ἔστω δύο ἀμερῇ τὰ  $\overline{a\bar{u}}$  καὶ ποιέτω συνεχές τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῦν. ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ συνεχῇ ἀπτεται πρότερον, τὰ ἄρα  $\overline{a\bar{u}}$  ἀπτεται ἀλλήλων ἀμερῇ ὄντα, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον. [ἄλλως—marginal] εἰ ἐστὶ συνεχές ἐκ τῶν  $\overline{a\bar{u}}$  ἀμερῶν, ἣ ὅλον ἀπτεται (f. 133v) τὸ  $\overline{a}$  τοῦ  $\bar{u}$ , ἣ ὅλον μέρους, ἣ μέρη μέρους. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὅλον μέρους ἣ μέρη μέρους, οὐκ ἔσται ἀμερῇ τὰ  $\overline{a\bar{u}}$ . εἰ δὲ ὅλον ὅλον ἀπτοιτο, οὐκ ἔσται συνεχές ἀλλ' ἐφαρμόσει μόνον. εἰ οὖν οὐκ ἦν τὸ  $\overline{a}$  συνεχές, οὐδὲ τὸ  $\bar{u}$  μετὰ τοῦ  $\bar{a}$  ἔσται συνεχές ὅλον ὅλον ἀπτόμενον.

<sup>5</sup> Procli . . . *De Motu Libelli Duo* . . . *Spiritu Martino Cuneate interprete.* I have used the copy in the British Museum.



Primum motus tempus est quod neque longius est eo neque brevius. Primus locus est qui neque maior neque minor est contento corpore. Quiescens est quod primo et postremo tam ipsum quam partes in eodem loco est.

## THEOREMATA

I. Duo indivisibilia non tangunt se invicem. Nam (si fieri potest) duo indivisibilia *ab* tangant se invicem, at cum contigua sunt quorum termini sunt in eodem, duo indivisibilia terminos habebunt. Non igitur indivisibilia *ab*.

Not only is the mediaeval rendering closely literal, but it shows the turns of expression characteristic of the translator of the *Almagest*, such as *quoniam* for ὅτι,<sup>1</sup> *utique* for ἄν; *quidem* . . . *vero* for μέν . . . δέ,<sup>2</sup> and notably the use of *id quod* to represent the article before an attributive phrase.<sup>3</sup> These resemblances, when taken in connection with the mention of the *De Motu* in the preface to the *Almagest*, make it probable that both translations are the work of the same scholar.

Another work of Greek mathematics which is known to have been in Sicily in the time of William I is the *Pneumatica* of Hero of Alexandria, which is mentioned by Aristippus in the introduction to his translation of the *Phaedo*.<sup>4</sup> All existing manuscripts are of later date, and the known Latin versions, three in number, are of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, so that it has been supposed that the Latin translation which is inferred from the language of Aristippus disappeared with the manuscript on which it was based.<sup>5</sup> There exists, however, in the Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>6</sup> a translation of the abbreviated text of the

<sup>1</sup> Heiberg, in *Hermes*, XLV, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Harv. Stud.* XXI, p. 83. These are also the regular equivalents in Boethius, and may have been taken from him by subsequent translators. See McKinlay, *Harv. Stud.* XVIII, pp. 124-128.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. (II, 4), τῶν ἐπ' εὐθέας τῆς κινήσεων = earum que in directo mocionum.

<sup>4</sup> Habes Eronis philosophi mechanica pre manibus, qui tam subtiliter de inani disputat quanta eius virtus quantaque per ipsum delationis celeritas. *Hermes*, I, p. 388. This work is not the lost *Mechanica*, preserved only in an Arabic translation and containing nothing concerning the vacuum, but the *Pneumatica*, which begins with a discussion of this subject. See Rose, *Hermes*, I, p. 380; Schmidt, *Heronis Opera* (Teubner, 1899); I, suppl., p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Schmidt, *l. c.*, pp. 52, 53.

<sup>6</sup> Ms. Lat. 7226 B, ff. 1-43; written on paper in a French hand of the early sixteenth century, with occasional corrections in a contemporary hand and free inter-



*Pneumatica*<sup>1</sup> which not only differs from the Renaissance versions described by Schmidt,<sup>2</sup> but has the close literalness of a mediaeval rendering. Its identity with the lost Sicilian translation can only be conjectured, but there would be nothing strange in the survival of the mediaeval version in the period of the humanists, who did not disdain such helps in making their own translations.<sup>3</sup> The Paris text begins as follows:—

SPIRITALIUM HERONIS ALEXANDRINI LIBER PRIMUS

Cum spiritale negotium studio dignatum sit a veteribus tum philosophis tum mechanicis, illis quidem per rationes vim eius explicantibus, hiis vero et per ipsos sensibiles effectus, necessarium esse ducimus et ipsi quae ab antiquis tradita sunt in ordinem redigere et quae nos quoque adinvenimus addere; sic enim eos qui post haec in mathematicis versari volunt iuvare continget. Consequens<sup>4</sup> autem esse rati aequorum horoscopiorum habitudini, quae nobis in quatuor libris descripta est, hanc tractationem esse continuam, scribemus et de ea, ut praedictum est. Per complicationem enim aeris et ignis et aquae et terrae ac dum tria elementa aut etiam quatuor complicantur, variae affectiones committuntur, quarum aliae usus vitae huic necessarios praestant, aliae stupendum aliquod miraculum ostendunt.

Caeterum ante ea quae dicenda sunt primum de vacuo tractandum est. Alii enim aiunt universaliter (f. iv) nullum esse vacuum, alii confertum quidem secundum naturam nullum esse vacuum sed sparsum per parvas particulas in aere et humore et igni et caeteris corporibus, quos potissimum sequi convenit; ex iis enim quae apparent ac sub sensum cadunt in sequentibus ostenditur id contingere. Quamquam vascula quae vulgus putat esse inania non sunt ut existimant inania sed plena

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linear and marginal corrections in a somewhat later humanistic hand which seeks to improve the rendering and often cites the Greek words of the original. This MS. was overlooked by Schmidt, doubtless because it is omitted from the body of the catalogue.

<sup>1</sup> On which see Schmidt, *l. c.*, pp. 14-23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 43, 49-53.

<sup>3</sup> *Harv. Stud.* XXI, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> The corrections, which appear with many erasures and alternative renderings, are not of sufficient importance to be reproduced in detail, but the translation of this sentence may serve as a specimen: Itaque cum veris certisque consecutionibus colligi (or confici) posse arbitremur, hanc commentationem cum horoscopiorum quae ex aqua comparantur ratione, quae iam a nobis in quatuor libris descripta est, coniunctam esse atque continuam, scribemus, etc.

aere, qui, ut iis placet qui in commentariis de natura versati sunt, pusillis ac levibus corpusculis constat quae nobis ut plurimum immanifesta sunt. Si igitur in vasculum quod videtur esse vacuum infundat quis aquam, quantum aquae in vasculum inciderit, tantundem aeris excedet. Poterit autem quis mente complecti id quod dicitur experientia tali. . . .

The translation of the *Phaedo* by Aristippus was, as we learn from the prologue, begun at the siege of Benevento, in the spring of 1156, and finished after the author's return to Palermo. It is dedicated to a certain *Roboratus*, or *Roboratus fortune*, who is about to return from Sicily to his home in England, where Aristippus reminds him he will not have at his disposal the scientific and philosophical writings of the Greeks nor the stimulus of the literary circle which had gathered around King William I. *Roboratus*, as Rose long since pointed out,<sup>1</sup> is probably a play upon *Robertus*, but the further identification with Robert of Selby has been generally rejected, since King Roger's chancellor was not a scholar and is not heard of after he leaves office in 1154.<sup>2</sup> I venture to suggest another Englishman who is known to have been in Sicily at this time, Robert of Cricklade, prior of St. Frideswide's at Oxford from before 1141 until after 1171,<sup>3</sup> and author, not only of a biography of Becket and various theological commentaries, but also of a *Defloratio*, in nine books, of Pliny's *Natural History*, which he dedicates to King Henry II.<sup>4</sup> Contributing in 1171 or early in 1172 to the collection of St. Thomas' miracles which was already in process of formation, he narrates his own miraculous recovery from a disease of the leg which he had contracted while journeying from Catania to Syracuse in the midst of a

<sup>1</sup> *Hermes*, I, p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> *Harv. Stud.* XXI, p. 86, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> He is addressed in a bull of Innocent II of 8 January, 1141 (*Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide*, ed. Wigram, Oxford Historical Society, 1895, I, p. 20, No. 15), and in a bull of Alexander III which from the Pope's itinerary may belong to 1171, 1172, or 1181 (*ibid.*, II, p. 95, No. 792).

<sup>4</sup> Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748), p. 151; Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue* (Rolls Series), II, p. 291; *Oxford Collectanea*, II, pp. 160-165; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLVIII, pp. 368, 369; Wright, *Biographia Britannica Litteraria*, II, pp. 186, 187; Rück, *Das Excerpt der Naturalis Historia des Plinius von Robert von Cricklade*, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy, phil.-hist. Kl., 1902, pp. 195-285.

sirocco more than twelve years before.<sup>1</sup> The visit to Sicily, whose occasion he does not care to set forth,<sup>2</sup> and from which he returned to England by way of Rome, can be placed even more definitely in 1158, when he secured, 26 February, from Adrian IV at the Lateran a detailed confirmation of the possessions of his priory.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, as the Italian sojourn would seem to have been a long one,<sup>4</sup> he may also have been present at Benevento, 13 March, 1156, when the Pope issued an order in his behalf to the bishop of Lincoln.<sup>5</sup> The coincidence of date, the visit to Catania, where Aristippus was archdeacon, and to Syracuse, whose library Aristippus especially mentions,<sup>6</sup> Robert's knowledge of Hebrew,<sup>7</sup> and his interest in natural science,<sup>8</sup> all combine to render it highly probable that he is the translator's English friend. If this be the case, another link is found in the intellectual connections between England and Sicily in the reign of Henry II.<sup>9</sup> Very likely Robert's associations with the South began still earlier than 1156, for personal

<sup>1</sup> Preteritis iam ferme duodecim annis aut eo amplius cum essem in Sicilia et vellem transire a civitate Catinia usque ad Syracusam, ambulabam secus mare Adriaticum; sic enim se protendebat via. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Series), II, pp. 97, 98; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXVII, p. 34. Also, somewhat more fully, in *Thómas Saga Erkebyskups* (Rolls Series), II, pp. 94-97, 284; see the introduction, II, pp. lxxiv, xcii-xciv.

<sup>2</sup> *Thómas Saga*, II, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Cartulary of St. Frideswide's*, I, p. 27, No. 23. The bull of 27 February *sine anno* (*ibid.*, II, p. 327, No. 1125) was doubtless issued at the same time.

<sup>4</sup> The priory lost the island of Medley during his absence. *Ibid.*, I, p. 33, No. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 29, No. 24. The year is clear from the Pope's itinerary.

<sup>6</sup> Habes in Sicilia Siracusanam et Argolicam bibliothecam. *Hermes*, I, p. 388. Lo Parco, *Scolario-Saba*, in *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia di Napoli* (1910), new series, I, p. 241, seeks to identify the *Argolica bibliotheca* with that collected by Scolario-Saba at Bordonaro, near Messina.

<sup>7</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera* (Rolls Series), VIII, p. 65.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. his description of the Ionian Sea in *Thómas Saga*, II, p. 96. The marginal notes which he tells us (Rück, pp. 213, 266) he added to his excerpts from Pliny might prove of interest in connection with his Sicilian sojourn, but an examination of the copies at Eton (MS. 134) and in the British Museum (Royal MS. 15 C, xiv) shows that very few of these survive.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Haskins, *England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century*, in *English Historical Review*, XXVI, pp. 435-438. The eulogy of King William by Aristippus may contain an implied comparison with Henry II: verum cum omnia dederis, regemne dabis Willelmum, etc.



visits to Rome were probably necessary to secure the confirmation of the monastery's possessions in 1141<sup>1</sup> and to prosecute its claims against the monks of Oseney ten years later.<sup>2</sup> The prior's interest in secular learning seems to have been a thing of his earlier years,<sup>3</sup> while his theological writings, one of which is posterior to 1170,<sup>4</sup> fall rather in the later period of his life, and the veil which he draws over the occasion of his presence in Sicily may well cover an outgrown interest in things at which religious men then looked askance.<sup>5</sup>

One of the most obscure and one of the most important questions connected with the Greek scholars of southern Italy and Sicily is the extent of their acquaintance with Aristotle and their relation to the Latin translations of his works. It tempts our curiosity to know that the *Posterior Analytics* was in Sicily in the time of Aristippus and that the first northern author to cite it was John of Salisbury, who was a frequent visitor to the Norman kingdom;<sup>6</sup> that Aristippus himself translated the fourth book of the *Meteorologica*;<sup>7</sup> and that the Sicilian translator of the *Almagest* was acquainted, at least indirectly, with the Greek text of the *De Caelo*.<sup>8</sup> It is also worth noting that there exists in the Vatican (MS. Reg. Svec. 1885, ff. 88-94v) a version of the *De Physico Auditu*,<sup>9</sup> made from the Greek and differing from those later

<sup>1</sup> *Cartulary of St. Frideswide's*, I, p. 20, No. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Eodem anno [1151] perrexit abbas Wigodus Romam provocatus a Roberto priore Sancte Frideswide. *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series), IV, p. 27; *M.G.H.*, SS., XXVII, p. 487.

<sup>3</sup> See the preface to his *De Conubio Iacobi* in *Oxford Collectanea*, II, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> The preface to his *Speculum Fidei* in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 380 (James, *Catalogue*, p. 228), mentions a bull of Alexander III of 28 May, 1170 (Jaffé-Löwenfeld, *Regesta*, No. 11,806).

<sup>5</sup> See the reference to the *libellus ludicris plenus* in *Oxford Collectanea*, II, p. 161; and cf. the remarks of the translator of the *Almagest*, *Harv. Stud.* XXI, p. 101; and Heiberg, in *Hermes*, XLVI, pp. 210-212.

<sup>6</sup> *Harv. Stud.* XXI, p. 97, and the works there cited.

<sup>7</sup> Rose, in *Hermes*, I, p. 385, confirmed by the Greek terms in the current version of this book.

<sup>8</sup> *Harv. Stud.* XXI, p. 82. Cf. Heiberg, in *Hermes*, XLVI, p. 210.

<sup>9</sup> Aristotiles phisice acroasis. A. Quoniam agnoscere et scire circa methodos omnes accidit. . . . The text breaks off abruptly at the bottom of f. 94v in the midst of Book II.



current,<sup>1</sup> which belongs to the period of the early Sicilian translators, since the manuscript is of the middle of the twelfth century. There is nothing to connect this with Sicily rather than with one of the other translators of the age, but I mention it in order to call attention to the importance of examining more thoroughly the early versions with reference to their date and provenance. Moreover, it has not been observed that of the north-Italian translators of this period, one at least, and that the most famous, the Pisan judge Burgundio,<sup>2</sup> made a visit to Sicily. Returning in 1171 from the last of his three missions to Constantinople as an envoy of Pisa, he tells us that he stopped at Messina, Naples, and Gaeta, working all the time assiduously at his translation of Chrysostom's *Homilies* on the gospel of John.<sup>3</sup>

Another subject which might reward further inquiry is the Biblical manuscripts of Sicilian origin. An important group of New Testament codices, the Ferrar-group, has been traced to the scribes of King Roger's court,<sup>4</sup> but the manuscripts of the Septuagint and the Arabic translations have still to be examined with reference to possible Sicilian connections. Many-tongued Sicily would be a natural centre for polyglot copies, and it is hard to conceive of any other country as the source

<sup>1</sup> Jourdain, *Recherches sur les traductions latines d'Aristote* (Paris, 1843), pp. 405-407.

<sup>2</sup> On whom see *Memorie istoriche di piu uomini illustri Pisani* (Pisa, 1790), I, pp. 71-104; Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, IV, pp. 394 ff.; Buonamici, *Burgundio Pisano*, in *Annali delle Università Toscane* (1908), XXIV. Burgundio was also in relations with John of Salisbury: *Metaphysicus*, IV, 7 (*Opera*, ed. Giles, V, p. 163).

<sup>3</sup> *Negotiis vero vice civitatis pactis, licenciam redeundi ab imperatore accipiens, Messanam veniens ibique moram faciens, manibus meis scribens librum inibi transferre incepti. Et sic per tantam viam Neapoli et Gaete et ubicumque moram faciebam vacationem michi extorquens, iugiter transferebam et contra spem per duos continuos annos, Deo actore, totum librum de verbo ad verbum de greco in latinum transferens integre consummavi.* Vatican, MS. Ottoboni Lat. 227, f. 1. Also in Merton College, MS. 30 (dated 1174); Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 1778, ff. 74-111; Arras, MS. 229; Berlin, Cod. Elect. 332 (cf. Rose, *Verzeichnis*, II, pp. 122-124). Printed from Mabillon's copy in Martène and Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum Amplissima Collectio*, I, col. 829. On the Pisan mission, see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, p. 575.

<sup>4</sup> See especially Harris, *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar-group* (London, 1900).

of such a manuscript as Harleian 5786 of the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> written before 1153<sup>2</sup> and containing the Psalter in the Vulgate and Septuagint texts and an Arabic version.

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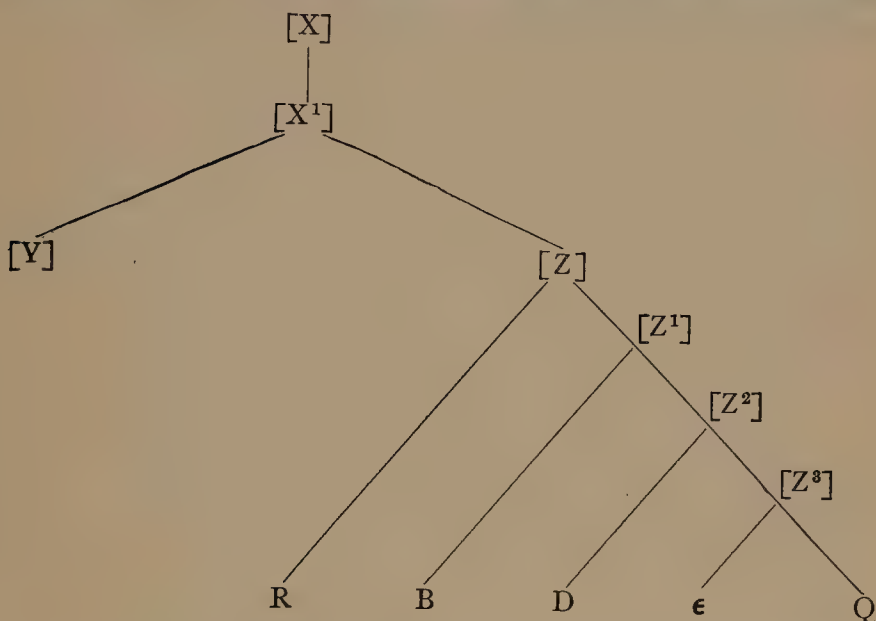
<sup>1</sup> A facsimile of one page is published by the *Palaeographical Society*, I, 2, plate 132. I am indebted to Professor E. K. Rand for calling my attention to this MS.

<sup>2</sup> The date appears from the following entry on the last folio: [a]nn[o] incarnat[i]onis dominice. M. C. Liii. Ind[ ] m[ensis] ianuarii die octavo die mercurii. There is some error here, as 8 January, 1153 fell on Thursday.

# SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D., 1911-12

FRANCIS HOWARD FOBES.—*De Libris Aliquot Suetonianis.*

ON the basis of critical editions of Suetonius *De Vita Caesarum*, and with the help of essays upon the text of that work, and photographs (lent by Professors Howard and Rand) of the *Galba* in four MSS., this thesis examines the relationships of six MSS. of the "second group," — Regius (Mus. Brit.) 15 C III (R), Parisini 6116, 5802 (B and Q respectively), Dunelmensis C III 18 (D), Cantabrigiensis Kk 5, 24 (ζ), Suessionensis 19 (ε). Lack of readings of ζ and ε make it apparently impossible to draw up with certainty a stemma embracing all six; but the evidence is sufficient to prove the following:



ζ is shown not to be connected with R or B; whether it belongs with D or with [Z³] is not indicated even by the serious transposition in the *Galba*.

Incidentally the thesis tries to determine (1) the age of R D ζ Q (the MSS. available in reproduction); (2) the number of letters to the line in the lost MSS. [X], [X¹], [Z], [Z¹], [Z²], [Z³].

WALTER HOUGHTON FREEMAN. — *De Ovidi Carminum Amatoriorum textus historia quaeritur.*

DURING the last fifty years the feeling among scholars interested in the text tradition of the Amatory Poems of Ovid has been that all the extant manuscripts with the possible exception of those containing the *De Medicamine Faciei Femineae* were derived ultimately from a single early manuscript. In a recent dissertation by Sigmund Tafel entitled *Die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte von Ovids Carmina amatoria, verfolgt bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen, 1910, this manuscript problem was discussed at length, but because of the methods employed no definite results were obtained. Furthermore Tafel's decision to restrict his investigation to manuscripts prior to the XIIth century greatly impaired his work by depriving him of some very important sources.

The present thesis aims at a reconsideration of the manuscript evidence, looking toward a definite determination of the interrelationship of the different families of manuscripts, and a restoration in outline of the common archetype.

The following manuscripts have been given especial attention: Parisinus 8242 (Puteaneus); Parisinus 7311 (Regius); Etonensis BL. 6.5; Guelferbytanus MST. Extrav. 260; Sangallensis 864; Sangallensis 821; Oxoniensis Bodl. F. 4. 32; Bambergensis MV. 18; Monacensis 14809 St. Emmer. g 10; Monacensis 14100 St. Emmer. b. 8; Monacensis 14482 St. Emmer. E 105; Codex Maximi Planudis; Codices used by the correctors of Parisinus 8242 = P<sup>2</sup> and of Parisinus 7311 = R<sup>2</sup>.

Inasmuch as not one of these ninth to thirteenth century manuscripts presents a complete copy of the Amatory Poems but all are either fragmentary or confined in extent to a single work, it was necessary to treat the manuscripts of each poem separately. The following stemmata were obtained.

*Ars Amatoria.* From the archetype (X) a copy (X<sup>1</sup>) was made from which the Bambergensis and two other manuscripts (X<sup>2</sup> and X<sup>3</sup>) were derived. The Regius and Sangallensis 821 were drawn from X<sup>3</sup>.

The Oxoniensis descended from X<sup>2</sup> after that manuscript had been freely vitiated with glosses. The codex used by R<sup>2</sup> was copied directly from the archetype but had been corrupted with many changes in readings before its use in the twelfth century. Its value is confined to *Ars Amatoria*, Book I.



*Remedia Amoris.* The Regius and the Etonensis were both copied from X<sup>3</sup> though the Etonensis is much later than the Regius, and its immediate ancestors were seriously interpolated and glossed. The three Munich manuscripts are copies of one of the vitiated ancestors of the Etonensis.

*Epistulae.* From the archetype (X) two copies were made; X<sup>5</sup> which was used by the twelfth century corrector of the Puteaneus, and X<sup>6</sup>, the immediate ancestor of the Puteaneus. From X<sup>6</sup> was drawn X<sup>7</sup>, ancestor of the Codex of Maximus Planudes; from X<sup>7</sup> came X<sup>8</sup>, parent of Guelferbytanus 260; from X<sup>8</sup> after many further corruptions, the Etonensis.

*Amores.* The codex X<sup>6</sup> formed the source of the Puteaneus and the Sangallensis 864.

In each of these groups the nature of the corruptions of the inferior manuscripts, set forth in numerous corrected lists, indicated the existence of an early commentary on the Amatory Poems. The extent of this commentary can best be seen in the Etonensis and Guelferbytanus codices.

On the basis of these stemmata and the appearance of important lacunae and verse transpositions an attempt was made to restore the form of the archetype (X). The following transpositions: *Epist. XIV* 114 after verse 61 in the Puteaneus and possibly *Rem.* 801/2 after verse 750 in the Regius, pointed to a parent manuscript in which the poems had been written in columns of 26 lines. This unit of 26 lines in the archetype afforded an easy solution for the problem of the loss of *Epistle XVI* 39-144 and *Epistle XXI* 144-248 in the early manuscripts, and definitely indicated the period at which these parts disappeared. Careful computations of the entire number of lines made it appear that the poems had been so arranged in the archetype that the larger divisions doubtless corresponded with the beginnings and endings of quaternions. When the archetype was broken up, a new arrangement of the order of the poems apparently resulted from a chance shift of the quaternions. This seems to be the solution of the different sequence of the poems in the two oldest manuscripts, the Puteaneus and the Regius.

In all the manuscripts of the Epistles prior to the XIV century the following portions do not appear; namely, *Epistle XV* entire and

*Epistle XXI* 13-144. In the Puteaneus *Epistles I-II* 13 are lost. These three very important lacunae indicate that between the archetype and the Puteaneus the manuscript X<sup>6</sup> was written with 22 lines on each page. The missing section in Puteaneus shows that this manuscript was copied from X<sup>6</sup> subsequent to the disappearance of its first three folia, and consequently later than X<sup>7</sup>, the ancestor of the Etonensis. The establishment of the existence of this 22 line manuscript is of especial importance taken in connection with the dispute among scholars about the genuineness of certain epistles, especially *Epistle XV*, tending to show that these disputed portions existed in the archetype and were later copied in X<sup>6</sup> as genuine works of Ovid.

By combining the different stemmata above mentioned it is sought to prove that all our manuscripts are derived from a single archetype, that an approach has been made to solving perplexing problems of the interrelationship of the manuscript families, and that the manuscripts can no longer be used as evidence against the genuineness of certain long-disputed passages.

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ROY MERLE PETERSON. — *De Vaticiniis apud Poetas Graecos.*

THE object of this treatise is to make a comprehensive study of prophecy as a literary commonplace in the ancient world. The introductory chapter is chiefly devoted to a consideration of the peculiar interest taken by the Greeks in the uncertainties of the future as exemplified by passages in their poetry. Next follows a collection of the extant examples of prophecy from Homer to Nonnus, among which are included references to instances in lost works where ancient testimony of their existence has been preserved.

In this historical survey the genuineness of a number of the Homeric examples is defended, attention is called to the importance of prophecy in promoting the unity of a poem, and emphasis is laid upon variations of form especially in the Alexandrian Age. Innovations here, however, are in most cases not the result of Alexandrian originality, but are rather the outgrowth and exaggeration of tendencies already apparent in earlier work.

In the discussion about the kinds of prophecy a distinction is drawn between classifications appropriate for divination as a part of religion

and for the prophecies used by the poets. In the case of the latter a further distinction is made between true prophecy requiring supernatural knowledge and various kinds of spurious prophecy based upon mere probability. In the next chapter the important part played by custom and natural Greek conservatism in moulding the forms of prophecy in definite lines is the subject of discussion. Here the relation between literary prophecy and divination is treated, so as to show how the former in some points kept up with the development of the latter, but in other cases lagged behind it.

This is followed by a treatment of the various uses of prophecy in developing the structure of epic, dramatic, and lyric productions. There is also an examination of the chief themes of prophecy and of the circumstances and psychological situations in which the poet is accustomed to make use of a prediction. Only subjects of the highest importance and seriousness are ordinarily esteemed worthy of the seer's attention, while the prophecies themselves as a rule are delivered in some crisis or period of danger. The dissertation closes with a discussion of the language and manner of expression of prophecy with particular reference to the extent to which it is marked by obscurity.





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